HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Turning Point in Viet Nam

Will Nixon heed his own 1964 advice?

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

The death of Ho Chi Minh marks one of those unheralded turning points in the Viet Nam war. Too often these turning points are not recognized until it is too late to respond effectively.

Fortunately, the President has been conducting a major review. He is faced with the fact that the patience of the American people has been nearly exhausted by military operations conducted solely in support of protracted diplomatic negotiations. At the same time, the collapse of Viet Nam would have a disastrous effect upon global security and American integrity.

If the President is to choose wisely, he must ignore those advisers who believe that diplomacy can secure a political settlement that has eluded us upon the battlefield. The death of Ho Chi Minh removes his personality from the situation, leaving us to negotiate directly with trained Communist party functionaries. Although this group has been the effective power in Hanoi for many months, we may expect to see a hardening of the line, because of closer cooperation with Soviet and Red Chinese leaders.

Every intensification of the Communist war effort has taken place after the Soviets stepped up the level of trade and military aid to North Viet Nam. The formation of the Viet Cong in January 1961 immediately followed the first Soviet-North Vietnamese defense treaty in November 1960. The rapid troop buildup ordered by President Johnson in 1965 was a response to massive infiltration from the north.

In every case, the U.S. reacted passively to increasing Communist pressure, cherishing the hope that the military situation could be counter-balanced while the diplomatic situation would make progress. This policy has cost us the lives of thousands of men without bringing success.

In 1964 Richard Nixon said: "No competent military authorities contend that we can win. . .without denying the enemy his privileged sanctuaries." These sanctuaries still exist.

Ironically, the best advice given to the American people in 1964, before the U.S. troop buildup, is valid today. That advice was given in August 1964 by private citizen Richard Nixon in an article in the *Reader's Digest*. At that time, he said:

"Today, in Viet Nam, we are again fighting under the same kind of self-imposed handicap. . . . To the best of my knowledge, no competent military authorities contend that we can win in South Viet Nam without denying the enemy his privileged sanctuaries across the border in North Viet Nam. Few top strategists in the Pentagon doubt our ability to destroy these sanctuaries and the enemy's supply routes. Most military men are agreed that, once these routes have been cut, the problem of the Viet Cong who then will be left isolated in South Viet Nam can be readily solved.

"What tactics should be used. . . ? Certainly we should strengthen the Vietnamese air force so that it would be able to bomb the roads, bridges and supply routes into South Viet Nam. Certainly we should extend the guerrilla warfare over the border and harass the enemy in the north.

"The problem is not one of tactics and strategy. It is a problem of will—and morale."

In the same article in 1964, Richard Nixon also said:

"What we must do is to instill in ourselves and our allies a determination to win this crucial war—and win it decisively. We must recognize that we are in a life-and-death struggle that has repercussions far beyond Viet Nam and that victory is essential to the survival of freedom."

This advice given by Richard Nixon in 1964 was not followed. The South Vietnamese military was not strengthened, the supply lines were not effectively interdicted, and our own bombing raids were restricted to inadequate missions by incompetent civilian advisers.

No diplomatic treaty can secure South Viet Nam as long as the sanctuaries remain untouched. Richard Nixon's 1964 plan is the best way whereby peace and freedom can be guaranteed. The Nixon Administration was the first Administration to begin effectively strengthening the South Vietnamese military preparedness and training. We must increase these efforts, as well as urging the use of other Asian troops. President Nixon can win the war in 1969 by using his plan of 1964.

John Ashbrook Pulls No Punches
Page 12

'Black' Budget Is Really Red
Page 16

Drive Begun to Unionize Military
Page 6

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Capital Briefs

● Despite some reports to the contrary, Human Events can authoritatively state that Dr. **Henry Kissinger**, President Nixon's chief adviser on foreign affairs, is taking a hard line against the State Department's appeasement faction. Kissinger, for instance, has been vigorously battling State Department advisers who are counseling the recognition of Castro's Cuba and he is also urging the President to hold firm to our Viet Nam commitment. While some advisers have been prodding the President to withdraw U.S. troops at a dramatic rate, Kissinger is telling Nixon that he must not de-escalate at a pace that would endanger the current Saigon regime. Kissinger's increasingly hard line, say White House insiders, has been instrumental in causing a rash of resignations by dovish National Security Council staffers.

● A well-placed White House staff aide last week told Human Events that President Nixon "has had it" with **Hanoi's continual refusal** to negotiate an end to the war in Viet Nam. "Right now Nixon's as big a hawk on Viet Nam as you can be these days," said the staffer.

● An American officer who escaped from the Viet Cong after five years' imprisonment said last week that the enemy made effective use of **anti-war activists** back home. "They started quoting AP, UPI, Newsweek, Time, Look, anything having to do with the anti-war movement, deserters, racial disorders, riots," said Maj. James N. Rowe. "The political cadre realized that this was the one thing that could break an American prisoner of war and they used it most effectively."

● While some Republicans, including Sen. Edward Brooke (Mass.), have asked President Nixon to withdraw the nomination of Judge **Clement Haynsworth** to the Supreme Court, the liberal Washington Post last week surprised the Capital by concluding that Haynsworth should be confirmed. Despite the Post's obvious distaste for Haynsworth's conservative rulings, the paper stressed in a lead editorial that "there is no valid reason on the basis of the present record for the Senate to deny the President his choice."

● President Nixon, say Administration insiders, might have intervened in the **Senate GOP leadership fight** on behalf of Tennessee's Howard Baker if he hadn't felt that he had too much to lose. Not only would he have miffed some of the Republican liberals by doing so, but he might also have angered both Scott and Griffin to the point where they would have refused to confirm the embattled Judge Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court. Scott and Griffin, who captured the minority leadership and whip positions respectively, hold crucial spots on the Senate Judiciary Committee which will file a recommendation either for or against Haynsworth this week.

● The more liberal Hugh Scott would not have defeated Tennessee's Howard Baker for the Senate Republican leadership post without the aid of **five conservatives:** Gordon Allott (Colo.), Wallace Bennett (Utah), Norris Cotton (N.H.), Len B. Jordan (Idaho) and Jack Miller (Iowa).

● Signals from **Southern Democrats** on the national, state and local levels indicate there could be a massive defection to the Republican party in the next year or so. Those contemplating switching to the GOP: Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Gov. Albert Brewer of Alabama. Brewer, in fact, thinks the only way he might be able to beat Wallace for the governorship contest is by turning Republican.

● Republican hopes of picking up a Nevada Senate seat were lessened somewhat last week when Gov. **Paul Laxalt** announced that he was retiring from public office. Laxalt, who came within 84 votes of defeating Sen. Howard Cannon in 1964, had been urged by President Nixon to try again. But Laxalt announced that he was leaving public life to spend more time with his family.

● Testing the nation's political mood after Richard Nixon's first nine months in office, the **Gallup Poll** has discovered that the President "holds a commanding lead" over each of his three possible Democratic opponents in 1972. Nixon, for instance, is favored 49 to 34 per cent over Sen. Edmund Muskie, leads 53 to 33 per cent over former Vice President Humphrey and has a 53 to 21 per cent margin over Sen. Edward Kennedy. George Wallace, third-party candidate in 1968, polls between 10 to 11 per cent in each of the trial heats.

● Prodded by Delaware Republican John J. Williams, the Senate Ethics Committee agreed last week to probe charges that a number of senators or their aides received gifts and contributions for introducing legislation to aid **Chinese ship jumpers** escape deportation. Senators who introduced the special bills include Joseph Montoya (D.-N.M.), Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.) and former solon Daniel Brewster (D.-Md.).

● Old Guard members of Mayor Daley's Chicago machine are now pushing Rep. **Roman Pucinski** for the party's senatorial race next year. The nomination had been expected to go by default to State Treasurer Adlai E. Stevenson III, but a number of Daley lieutenants are known to feel that the son of the former Democratic presidential nominee is too "reform-minded."

● A group of concerned New York private citizens believes they have put their finger on why the city's Department of Social Services has not been more successful in curbing **drug addiction**: Most of the department's staff, they say, are drug users themselves. At a conference on the drug problems of the city's lower East Side section last week, some 500 residents of the area charged that drug use on the part of Social Services Department staff members made them "more permissive" when dealing with hard-core addicts, whom they were supposed to be pressuring to give up drugs.

● Former Supreme Court Justice **Arthur Goldberg** will make his first race for office next year, intimates say. Goldberg, who also served as Lyndon Johnson's ambassador to the United Nations, is interested in the Democratic senatorial nomination in New York state. Also coveting the same nomination is Goldberg's law partner, former White House aide Ted Sorensen.

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Contents

Turning Point in Viet Nam—By Sen. Strom Thurmond 1
Drive is Launched to Unionize the Military—By Victor Riesel 6
Don't Better Teachers Deserve Better Rewards?—By Russell Kirk 6
Radical Uses Planned for Model Cities Funds—By Paul Scott 8
Is This the Republic's Finest Hour?—By Morrie Ryskind 8
After the Stalemate, What?—By Ralph de Toledano 10
Our Dikes Crumble in Europe—From the Richmond News Leader 10
John Ashbrook of Ohio—By George F. Hobart 12
"Black" Federal Budget Figures Are Really Red—By Willard Edwards 16
U.N. Finances Are "Precarious"—From the Arizona Republic 16
Soviets Accelerate Military Buildup—By Sen. Barry Goldwater 17
First-Hand Experience Refutes Chavez Charges 18
Damaging Job "Help"—From the Milwaukee Sentinel 18
Nixon on Social Security—From the Chicago Tribune 18
Who Is the Real Robert Williams?—By James J. Kilpatrick 19
Court Test Coming for "Philadelphia Plan"?—From the Allen-Goldsmith Report 21
The Superheated Plans of Mark Rudd—By John Chamberlain 22
Television: A Warped Mirror—By Paul Harvey 22
Spotlight on Congress 23

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Demo Party Joins Peaceniks

Apparently unmindful of Gov. Robert McNair's warning that the Democratic party must stop plunging leftward, Sen. Fred Harris (D.-Okla.), the party's national chairman, has decided to steer his fellow Democrats into the camp of the street radicals. In doing so, moreover, Harris, who is personally seeking the "Kennedy following" for his own presidential ambitions, has been willing to jeopardize the entire American war effort in Viet Nam.

HARRIS

The fact that his actions may cause the pro-Western Saigon government to be subverted by the Communists or ensure that American lives have been lost in vain or cause more American GIs to be killed because the enemy suspects that the U.S. will buckle under to the pro-Viet Cong pressures at home doesn't seem to bother Harris in the tiniest degree. Indeed, he seems to be pursuing his course with reckless abandon.

Immediately following President Nixon's call on the American public for a "united front" behind his Viet Nam peace policies—which will have resulted in at least 60,000 U.S. troop withdrawals by December—Harris not only flatly rejected the idea but said it was "time to take the gloves off on the Viet Nam war issue."

At the same time, Harris called together more than a dozen senators and congressmen from his own party to demand faster troop withdrawals from Viet Nam and, incredibly, to *endorse* the pinkish war protests which are forming this month on the college campuses and elsewhere. Among those attending Harris' get-together were: Senators Frank Church of Idaho, George McGovern of South Dakota, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, and Walter Mondale of Minnesota. Representatives included John Brademas of Indiana, Brock Adams of Washington, Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, Robert C. Eckhardt of Texas, Abner J. Mikva of Illinois, John Conyers Jr. of Michigan and Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

The group agreed to draft a resolution for Senate debate on October 8 demanding a specific timetable for bringing American troops home. In addition the senators and congressmen plan a general statement in support of the anti-war protest movement.

The national chairman of the Democratic party then proceeded to put his stamp of approval on the radical street demonstrators. Using phrases like "incredible" to describe President Nixon's recent remarks on the Viet Nam war, Harris said he was "terribly disappointed" that the President had stated that his policies would not be affected by the protest movement. The Administration's reaction, claimed Harris, puts an increased burden on other public leaders to lend their support to the protests to make it clear that they represent "respectable and sound American thinking."

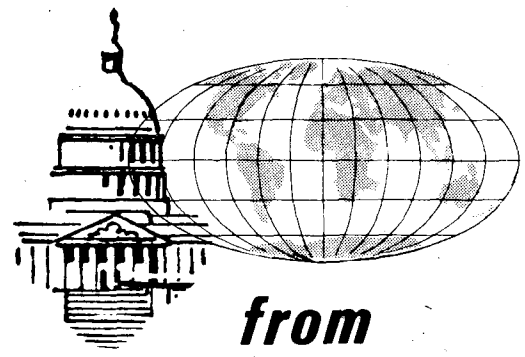
These actions and statements, noted the Washington *Post*, suggest "a political judgment by Harris that, this time around, the Democratic party should be clearly identified with the youthful protestors. . . ."

In short, the chairman of the Democratic party—plus the leading Democratic presidential contenders in that party—have resorted to a demagogic appeal to the mobs as a legitimate technique to pressure the President. That Harris would stoop to such a tactic is all the more remarkable when it is recalled that he was in charge of Vice President Hubert Humphrey's campaign last year in which Humphrey not only criticized the protests but stoutly defended President Johnson's decision to send a massive amount of troops to Viet Nam in the first place.

Even assuming that Harris is genuinely interested in the "peace movement"—which few on Capitol Hill will concede—examination of the evidence suggests that Harris and Co. are not supporting a genuine "peace movement" when they endorse the protests but a war movement, a war movement in favor of the Viet Cong and manipulated by Communists.

Human Events visited the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, whose headquarters are at 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. The New Mobilization Committee has on its steering committee nearly all the representatives of the important "peace" groups, including representatives of the Viet Nam Moratorium Committee—which is organizing a massive boycott of the campuses on October 15—and the much publicized Student Mobilization Committee.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

"New Mobe," as this militant umbrella group is called, is helping to coordinate the fall peace offensive which the left hopes will wind up with a massive march on Washington on November 15. But "New Mobe" is clearly not a peace organization, but a propaganda vehicle for the Communist enemy in Viet Nam.

Indeed, a fundamental piece of literature handed to a *Human Events* reporter was a reprint from *Ramparts* with the title: "The NLF asks the American Left: 'Where are you now that we *really* need you?'" Written by Franz Schurmann, a professor from the University of California at Berkeley, appropriately enough, the article is nothing less than an urgent plea to the American left to start revving up its anti-war apparatus on behalf of the Viet Cong.

Yet even more revealing is the makeup of New Mobe's steering committee. Included, for instance, are such people as Arnold Johnson, the public relations director for the U.S. Communist party; Irving Sarnoff, an identified Communist who took the 5th Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities rather than say whether he was or was not an American Red; Sylvia Kushner, a

David Hawk, left, and Sam Brown of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee tell newsmen in Washington what they think is the student response to President Nixon's troop withdrawal announcement. They called for a Viet Nam moratorium and planned demonstrations for October 15.

radical activist in her own right and for many years the wife of Sam Kushner, who has served on the Communist party's National Committee and as Los Angeles editor of the *People's World*, the West Coast Communist party newspaper; and Otto Nathan, charged by the State Department in 1955 with having been a German Communist who had a "consistent and prolonged adherence to the Communist party line on a variety of issues." Nathan also refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities in June 1956 whether or not he was or had ever been a Communist.

Nor does this exhaust the curious cast of characters. The steering committee also includes Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis, now being tried in a federal court in Chicago on the grounds of violating the U.S. anti-riot law during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Fred Halstead, an avowed Trotskyite, is also aboard, as is Robert Greenblatt. Greenblatt's bias was revealed in 1968 when he went to Paris bearing a letter of introduction from Tom Hayden to a North Vietnamese, a Col. Lao. The letter from Hayden introduced Greenblatt as a trusted worker in the cause and ended with this thought for Col. Lao: "Good fortune! Victory!"

The Viet Nam Moratorium Committee, whose actions Chairman Harris, et al., are specifically supporting, has as its aim a one-day general strike on October 15—euphemistically called a "moratorium"—in which the normal activity of the nation would hopefully grind to a devastating halt.

While much of the press has suggested that the VMC is only interested in student and faculty boycotts of schools and colleges, VMC literature acknowledges that its goals are more grandiose—that the eventual aim is to get "massive and diverse sectors of American society to cease to do 'business as usual. . . .'" If the strike fails in October, the moratorium will be "lengthened" in the months ahead.

While the VMC itself is not Communist-controlled, it nevertheless is working hand-in-glove with "New Mobe," whose steering committee is rife with Communists and pro-Communists. The VMC, for instance, is using the suite of rooms just below the suite being used by "New Mobe" and the traffic between the two floors is extensive. Members of both the VMC and the "New Mobe" acknowledge close cooperation, and the ironically named David Hawk, a leader in the VMC, appears on the steering committee of "New Mobe."

VMC leader Sam Brown, moreover, holds vigorous anti-American sentiments. Presidential historian Theodore White quotes Brown as saying, for instance, that, "We've recognized the true nature of the United States. We saw the United States attack Cuba, it attacked the Dominican Republic, it attacked South Viet Nam. The Communists are now a fragmented force; the United States is now the great imperialist-aggressor nation in the world."

Yet despite the ideology of the protest leaders, despite the fact that "New Mobe" and its affiliates are making common cause with the Communists and the Viet Cong, the leadership in the Democratic party has elected to join the "peace movement"—at the very moment in which most objective observers, witness the respected Gullion report, believe that the South Vietnamese can prevent a Communist takeover if the U.S. does not precipitously withdraw its troops.

In brief, the Democratic party which sent American boys to die in Viet Nam to prevent South Viet Nam from being taken over by the Communists would now join with the Communist-endorsed and infiltrated peace movement to achieve a Communist objective: the Communist conquest of South Viet Nam caused by a precipitous withdrawal of U.S. troops.

• Democratic leaders, it must be acknowledged, aren't the only ones who have pledged allegiance to the "peace movement." Those who have endorsed the Viet Nam Moratorium in some fashion or other include Senators Fred Harris (D.-Okla.), Ted Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine), George McGovern (D.-S.D.), Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), Frank Church (D.-Idaho), Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) and Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D.-N.Y.).

So has Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.). Addressing the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies recently, Fulbright signed a student petition requesting that classes be suspended for the October 15 Viet Nam Moratorium.

• National Democratic Chairman Fred Harris is not only trying to get his party behind the peace movement in this country, he is also trying to pin the blame for the Viet Nam war on President Nixon.

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But Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho), who has been a "dove" from the beginning on the Viet Nam affair, has refused to go along with Harris' politicking.

"After all," said Church last week, "Democrats in the White House led this country into Viet Nam. If President Nixon fails to lead us out, it may become his war, but it is not Nixon's war yet. For eight years we Democrats bore the responsibility. Now we must wear the hair shirt longer than eight months. Quite apart from what our personal positions may have been, we are not yet entitled as a party to hold the Republicans to account."

Resurgence of 'Hawk' Sentiments

Sen. Strom Thurmond (see cover) isn't the only lawmaker urging the President to step up military action against Hanoi if it refuses to negotiate at the bargaining table. Last week a number of Senate and House members rose to challenge the appeasement posture of the doves.

Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), who has journeyed often to South Viet Nam and is a ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, not only opposed any proposal to set a "time for withdrawal" from South Viet Nam—a crack directed at Sen. Charles Goodell's (R.-N.Y.) plan—but contemplated increasing the military pressure on Hanoi.

"I think the time is fast approaching," argued Tower, "when in the light of North Vietnamese intransigence, we must consider the exercise of additional military options available to us, such as the resumption of bombing in the North, interdiction of their lines of communication and supply on a saturation basis, and closing the port of Haiphong."

Agreeing with Tower, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) stressed that "I join with the senator from Texas in believing that we can achieve military victory, that it is high time we told the people in Paris to fish or cut bait, and that if they do not, we go ahead and win this military victory which through sheer stupidity on the part of the secretary of defense prior to this Administration [Mr. McNamara] we were prevented from obtaining."

Similar sentiments were echoed on the House side. Rep. Benjamin Blackburn (R.-Ga.) pointed out that a recent survey of his own district indicated "that in excess of 74.6 per cent" of the people there favor "setting a time limit on the negotiations in Paris and in the absence of meaningful concessions from the North Vietnamese 62.5 per cent favor using our maximum military, economic and diplomatic pressure to bring this matter to an honorable conclusion."

Chalmers P. Wylie (R.-Ohio) told Blackburn that his own district reflected similar views. Rep. Lawrence G. Williams (R.-Pa.) indicated that he, too, favored stepping up the military pressures if the Communists don't come across at Paris. Williams also opened fire on fellow Republicans Paul McCloskey (Calif.) and Donald Riegle (R.-Mich.) for planning to introduce resolutions concluding our combat operations in Viet Nam on Dec. 31, 1970.

"To seriously offer this resolution for the consideration of the House of Representatives," said Williams, "is to suggest that the members of this body must either be ignorant of established Communist aspirations, objectives and strategy—or worse, totally indifferent to them."

"The time may not be far off," noted one congressional observer, "when the clamor of the hawks may start to drown out the coos of the doves."

Compulsory Unionism to 'ZIP' Through?

President Nixon has casually tossed aside one of his presidential campaign promises by throwing White House support behind a bill which would pave the way for compulsory unionism among 750,000 postal employes. The bill, called the Postal Service Act (HR 11750), would strip postal workers of their protection against forced unionism, protection provided for all federal employes by President John F. Kennedy's 1962 Executive Order.

In 1968 candidate Nixon came out foursquare for voluntary unionism, by saying he would seek legislation designed to "recognize the right of a federal employe to join an organization if he chooses to do so." But by supporting HR 11750, which authorizes compulsory unionism for federal employes in states

NIXON

BLOUNT

that do not have right-to-work laws, the President has gone back on his pledge.

The National Right to Work Committee reports that Postmaster General Winton Blount's decision to soften the opposition of union bosses to the postal corporation plan by granting them authorization for the compulsory union shop seems to be paying off. Union chiefs, until recently, had been busily denouncing the plan, but their attacks have now calmed down.

Remarks the Right to Work Committee: "The probability of a deal between Administration leaders and union lobbyists was hinted at by former Postmaster General Larry F. O'Brien, who joined Nixon in endorsing the 'Postal Service Act.' O'Brien, immediate past chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said there was 'significant' new support for the measure." Could that support, asks the committee, "come from postal union bosses—who see an annual $6-million windfall in added income under compulsory union shop agreements?"

Meanwhile, defensive Post Office Department officials are responding to a growing number of critics by stating that simply making compulsory unionism legal does not mean it would automatically go into effect. Yet nobody doubts that the postal unions have the power to force it into effect if they are permitted to do so.

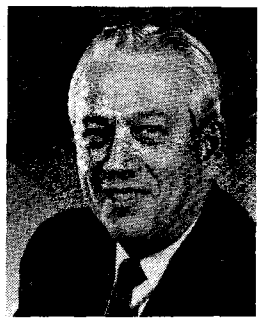
Since legalizing the union shop in the postal service is certain to set a pattern for the nation's public employes—teachers, policemen, trash collectors etc.—the National Right to Work Committee is vigorously requesting all those opposed to compulsory unionism to help defeat this proposal.

While Postmaster General William Blount, who opposed compulsory unionism when he headed the national Chamber of Commerce organization, has seemed oblivious to the dangers lurking in HR 11750, the stakes have not been lost on militant union boss Jerry Wurf, whose American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes has been involved in some of the most violent and disruptive public employe strikes in the nation. Wurf's union, it is noted, used half the back cover of the July issue of its official publication to gloat that Postmaster General Winton Blount had endorsed Wurf's view that compulsory unionism should not be banned.

Meanwhile, those opposed to compulsory unionism should write to the members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. They are: Thaddeus J. Dulski (D.-N.Y.), chairman; David N. Henderson (D.-N.C.); Arnold Olsen (D.-Mont.); Morris K. Udall (D.-Ariz.); Dominick V. Daniels (D.-N.J.); Robert N. C. Nix (D.-Pa.); James M. Hanley (D.-N.Y.); Charles H. Wilson (D.-Calif.); Jerome R. Waldie (D.-Calif.); Richard White (D.-Tex.); William D. Ford (D.-Mich.); Lee H. Hamilton (D.-Ind.); Frank J. Brasco (D.-N.Y.); Robert O. Tiernan (D.-R.I.); Graham Purcell (D.-Tex.); Robert J. Corbett (R.-Pa.); H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa); Glenn Cunningham (R.-Neb.); Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.); Albert W. Johnson (R.-Pa.); Daniel E. Button (R.-N.Y.); William L. Scott (R.-Va.); James A. McClure (R.-Idaho); Thomas J. Meskill (R.-Conn.); Donald E. Lukens (R.-Ohio); Lawrence J. Hogan (R.-Md.).

Did Gov. Ogilvie Pick a Liberal?

Conservative Senate Republicans are particularly upset with Ralph T. Smith, the new Illinois senator picked to replace the late Everett Dirksen. While Smith claims he voted for Howard Baker over the more liberal Hugh Scott for the Senate GOP leadership post—though Baker backers have their strong doubts about the matter—Smith has definitely decided to cast his lot with the liberals on other major issues.



SMITH

Last week, for instance, the freshman senator joined the chorus of liberal and "Nervous Nelly" Republicans by coming out against confirming Judge Clement Haynsworth to a position on the U.S. Supreme Court. Though no one has yet been able to prove that the judge acted unethically and even though the liberal Washington *Post,* which definitely does not like Haynsworth, says there is no reason he should not be confirmed, Smith asked presidential aide Bryce Harlow to tell the President he could not support the nomination.

Nor is this the only way in which Smith has been knifing his party. Smith was also one of those liberal Republicans who helped the Senate pass the $5-billion McGovern food stamp program, a plan that will cost nearly $2 billion more than the secretary of agriculture says he can spend in any efficient manner. The McGovern plan, furthermore, removes virtually all control over who is entitled to receive food stamps and permits recipients to purchase with them such "edible" items as brooms, mops, hair shampoos and deodorants. Such is the manner in which Illinois' Ralph Smith is fulfilling his senatorial duties these days.

Marchi, Javits Exchange Bouquets

Republican-Conservative candidate John Marchi, who even the liberals concede has an excellent chance to capture the New York mayoralty contest, has refused to take back a single, solitary word of his blast charging Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R.-N.Y.) with being a "pompous, posturing ass." Marchi clobbered New York's liberal senator with the label after Javits had slurred the GOP candidate in plugging for rival Lindsay.

What particularly riled Marchi was Javits' comment that, "We cannot and must not turn it [New York City] over to the forces of repression and reaction, or to those who know only the nightstick or to those living in the past."

Told that Javits said he was not referring specifically to him or to Democratic candidate Mario Procaccino, Marchi retorted: "Well, who's he talking about—the Socialist Labor party candidate? He was knocked off the ballot by Lindsay. The thrust was plain and unmistakable."

Aside from pointing out that Javits had "supported me every time I ran for office" in previous years, Marchi added: "I'm not going to let every Tom, Dick and Harry or Jake [Javits' nickname] that walks down the street to have a field day. My whole life has been a repudiation of fear and repression and if this is going to be the tenor of the campaign I want the record set straight and fast."

Javits' poke at Marchi, say New York political observers, reveals how disturbed the Lindsay forces really are. The majority of private polls continue to show Marchi's popularity climbing at an increasingly rapid rate while Lindsay, though making some headway from his previous lows, is considered to be just inching along. One of his own commissioned polls revealed that fewer than 20 per cent of the voters were in his corner.

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MARCHI

JAVITS

Columnists Evans and Novak, long-time supporters of Lindsay, reported last week that "the really dramatic progress has been made by Marchi. . . . Coolly dignified and self-possessed (though a bit long-winded), Marchi is making progress among the middle-income whites who detest Lindsay's Establishment liberalism but now wonder whether Procaccino really fits the role of mayor of the nation's largest city.

"For instance, Marchi spent last Friday night making inroads in heavily Democratic Italian sections of Brooklyn that Procaccino counts on heavily. After being refused entrance earlier this month, Marchi was invited into one Italo-American social club filled with Procaccino posters. His brief speech, delivered in fluent Florentine Italian, evoked an obviously favorable response."

Hence, the reason for Javits' thrust against Marchi.

Harvard Picks Pink Prof

Veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital were somewhat astonished by the curious ellipses in the Eastern press' description of Dr. Ewart Guinier, chairman-designate of Harvard University's newly formed Department of Afro-American Studies.

The New York *Times* portrayed Dr. Guinier as a most distinguished gentleman, with cum laude honors, admirable service in the New York City Welfare Department and the Public Workers Union and a doctorate of jurisprudence from New York University in 1959.

Syndicated columnist Marquis Childs waxed even more ecstatic. "Harvard," gushed Childs in the Washington *Post* last week, "is fortunate in having Dr. Ewart Guinier as head of the new department. A Harvard graduate during the Depression years, he has had a remarkable career in government and the trade unions."

Dr. Guinier's career has, indeed, been remarkable. But even more remarkable is that conveniently omitted from all these glowing descriptions is that Dr. Guinier was once a well-known Communist who has made no known break with the Communist party of the United States.

As late as 1968, in fact, he, along with a host of Communists, such as Dr. Herbert Aptheker, helped celebrate the W.E.B. DuBois Centennial, sponsored by *Freedomways,* a publication cited as a Communist organ by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover.

Dr. Guinier's greatest known period of Communist activism occurred in the 1940s and early 1950s. During this period, Dr. Guinier dutifully followed the Stalinist line and participated in a score of different Red activities.

The *Daily Worker,* official organ of the Communist party, supported his candidacy as the American Labor party candidate for Manhattan borough president at the very time the Manhattan branch of the ALP had been captured by the Communists. The Oct. 11, 1949, *Worker* named Guinier as a sponsor of the Trade Union Committee for the Defense of 12 national Communist leaders who faced prosecution from the U.S. government.

Dr. Guinier was also secretary-treasurer of the United Public Workers of America when in February 1950 it was expelled from the CIO because of its domination by the Communists.

Appearing as a witness before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in October 1951, Guinier invoked the 5th Amendment when asked to state whether or not he was a CP member. During the same month, Dr. Guinier was elected regional vice president at the founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati. The council was formed under the direction of leading Negro Communists such as Abner Berry.

The selection of Dr. Guinier suggests that Harvard is fast developing a taste for placing far-left radicals in its black studies programs. Just last month Milton Galamison, who delivered the keynote address at the founding convention of the Communist-spawned W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, was picked to put together an urban studies program for Harvard's graduate school of education.

Maybe, commented one observer, Harvard's recent actions are only designed as an effort not to be upstaged by another Ivy League college, Bryn Mawr. That prestigious women's college has hired to head its black studies program Dr. Herbert Aptheker,

APTHEKER

MAO

chief theoretician of the American Communist party. Perhaps the next step is to set up a Chinese studies program headed by Mao Tse-tung.

Bigots, Hawks for McCarthy?

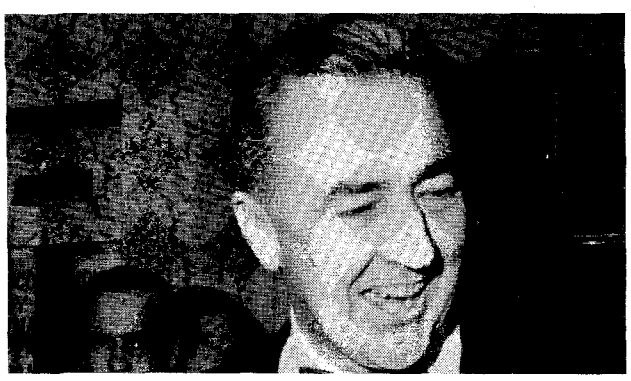
A remarkable political analysis was published last week indicating that much of Sen. Eugene McCarthy's support last year came from Viet Nam hawks, "law-and-order" hard-liners and even racial bigots.

McCarthy's surprising showing in the New Hampshire primary had been viewed as a repudiation of LBJ's position on the war and a desire for withdrawal and peace. Not so, reports the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, which has completed one of the "most carefully drawn and meticulously researched" samples in polling history.

"Among the [McCarthy] supporters in the primary those who were unhappy with the Johnson Administration for not pursuing a harder line against Hanoi outnumbered those advocating a withdrawal from Viet Nam by nearly a 3-to-2 margin."

Even more interesting, a slight pluarlity of those Democrats who supported McCarthy before the convention expressed a preference for George Wallace last November over eight other widely mentioned Republican and Democratic presidential aspirants.

The Michigan researchers find the Wallace Phenomenon far more significant than McCarthy's can-



McCARTHY

didacy. Wallace's final showing, they say, was "the first noteworthy intrusion on the two-party election in 20 years." They report, too, that Wallace scored heavily among voters under 30—a factor almost completely ignored in most analyses of the voting.

Washington *Post* columnists Richard Harwood and Laurence Stern remarked that if "the survey is right in some of its central conclusions, then much of the journalism of 1968 was wrong in substance and emphasis."

The Michigan findings may also severely jolt the Democratic and Republican doves who are now trying to "outcoo" each other in an effort to win popularity with the voters.

GOP Defeat in Bay State

Democrats won still another House seat last week, capturing Massachusetts' 6th Congressional District for the first time since 1875. It was the fifth special election held this year—and the fourth won by Democrats. In three of the cases, Democrats replaced Republican incumbents.

HARRINGTON

Michael Joseph Harrington, an articulate Viet Nam dove, was the victor last week, defeating Republican State Sen. William Saltonstall 72,030 to 65,453. Saltonstall, son of the former Massachusetts senator, had been expected to win easily, but his campaign "never got off the ground," according to one analyst.

"He just didn't excite anybody," a GOP strategist said of Saltonstall, who ran a quiet campaign promising "service" to his constituents. Saltonstall, a GOP "moderate," avoided stands on most issues, although indicating he would give the Nixon Administration frequent support.

Analysis of the returns indicates that Saltonstall failed to build up sufficient strength in traditionally Republican towns and villages to offset Harrington's expected bulge in Lynn and other urban areas.

Democratic leaders were jubilant over the victory, with House Majority Leader Carl Albert seeing "major national significance" in the outcome. GOP experts were disappointed, with one noting, sardonically, "It certainly doesn't disprove Kevin Phillips."

Phillips is the architect of Nixon's 1968 campaign and the author of a new book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, which urges the GOP to write off the Northeast and concentrate instead on the South, Midwest and Far West.

Job Corps' 'Soul Material'

In shutting down the Job Corps Center at Camp Kilmer, N.J., on June 30, President Nixon may have helped to improve the reading tastes of thousands of youngsters. The federal government, it turns out, shelled out no less than $10,000 in one month last fall to purchase sexy paperback novels on the assumption that the camp youth would finally learn to read. Among the titles to whet the literary appetite:

"The Nude Wore Black," "Orgy at Madam Dracula's," "Candy," "Wife Swappers," "Sex Turned On," "All the Hungry Young Bodies," "Call House Madam" and "French Art of Love."

All these and many more are listed on 27 pages of a purchase order from the Federal Electric Corp., of Paramus, N.J., which had the contract to operate the now defunct camp. The book store allowed a 22 per cent discount and the U.S. government spent all but six cents of the $10,000 authorized to purchase the "reading material."

D.L. (Jack) Weber, the former director of the Job Corps center, declared the books "were part of our reading programs to get these fellows to read. . . . Most of the books are 'soul material.'"

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Pentagon Growing Concerned

Drive Is Launched to Unionize the Military

By VICTOR RIESEL

A spectre stalks the Pentagon. This wraith which chills the generals and haunts base commanders has a union label. For this is the spectre of GI unions, organized technicians and mechanics, in the National Guard on land, sea and air.

There is precedent for unionizing the military—be they fighting men or civilian specialists subject to immediate call-up. There is a GI union. But it's over in Germany where the government has opened the bases and barracks to union organizers and action by the Public Services, Transport and Traffic Workers. That was on Aug. 8, 1967. Generals who didn't like a union label on their troops were told they could resign. They did.

It hasn't quite come to that in the U.S., though the SDS' American Servicemen's Union (ASU) is trying hard. Just the other day the Defense Department ruled that while it is not illegal for GIs to join the ASU, base commanders are forbidden to recognize or bargain collectively with the young militants. Their unsubtle demands run the New Left gamut—from elections for army officers and refusal to salute superiors, to rank-and-file voting on whether or not to fight.

This ASU makes the usual claims—units on all bases, growing strength and a powerhouse in Fort Hood, Tex. Those who know the ASU don't grin at it. They grimace—especially those who have been in on the "busts" at Columbia, San Francisco and Berkeley.

There is, however, a very serious, professional union drive among the armed forces led by the same labor men who have unionized the civilian staffs at West Point and other service academies. If this campaign of the American Federation of Government Employes (an AFL-CIO union reporting a galloping growth on many federal fronts) succeeds, it could some day soon unionize the Pentagon itself.

This is a jet-streamed drive aimed at the National and Air Guards' 42,500 technicians. Once, "in the old days," their forerunner handled the cavalry horses. Now these men, who are members of the reserves, and can be called up for duty anywhere, any time, including riot-ripped cities and campuses, work on Nike sites, missile bases, tanks, guns, aircraft, computers and classified equipment.

An AFGE pro, George Hobt, is a "National Coordinator for National Guard," who knows his business and has whipped up 39 National Guard union units. These are in cities ranging from Anchorage to San Antonio; from Chicago to Fort Wayne to Oklahoma City; from Burlington, Vt., to San Juan, P. R.

Nothing comes easy in this unionizing business. So there is competition from an independent union, the National Association of Government Employes, which claims thousands of National Guard members.

At the moment the big chips are on the Maryland National Guard at four missile sites and in the Air Guard there. Both unions are signing up men, promising to bargain with the military over grievance procedure, working conditions, everything except wages.

Actually the drama in all this, the haunting of the brass, the shuddering of Defense Department foreign affairs specialists who know of the German union power among the fighting men there, all obscure a significant development on the labor front.

Unionizing is racing through the federal employes in all departments here in Washington like rumors of a fine $4 steak dinner. The AFGE has been signing up about 1,000 employes a week—perhaps as many as 60,000 a year. It has tripled in the past seven years. Membership now moves up from some 575,000 to 600,000, national organizer Bill Smith says.

All this has been flaring while unionization in the "private sector" limps for reasons of a hundred political, social, economic and technological strains.

Thus when the national AFL-CIO convention (this week) expands its high command council from 29 to 35, the AFGE 62-year-old President John Griner probably will be among the six new members who will help lead the federation for the next decade.

But this is not the phenomenon which intrigues the Pentagon. What haunts some of the brass is the reflection of developments abroad—a GI union led not by way-out New Leftists doing their thing, but by traditional labor leaders doing their traditional thing—bargaining over grievances, working conditions and the power of shop stewards on the land, the sea and in the air.

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Don't Better Teachers Deserve Better Rewards?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Throughout the country, most school districts are heavily burdened by the swift increase of teachers' salaries during the past three years. Do all teachers, regardless of competence, deserve marked increases of pay? And if so, how can school boards possibly find the money?

Public school teaching is the only profession in which, with few exceptions, monetary compensation is increased merely on the basis of longevity and accumulation of academic course-credits. In every other profession, those practitioners who are especially able earn special rewards.

This subject is discussed in an "occasional paper" recently published by the Council for Basic Education: "Merit Pay and Alternatives—Descriptions of Some Current Programs," by George Weber and William H. Marmion. Copies may be obtained for 25 cents from the CBE (725 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.).

Merit pay, the authors write, "is simply any program in which some teachers get more pay than others as a result of a conscious judgment that they are more competent." This principle has been endorsed by a formidable array of public officials and writers on education. It is strenuously resisted, nevertheless, by the National Education Association, and by the American Federation of Teachers. Many teachers fear that school superintendents and principals would be incompetent or unjust in differentiating among classroom teachers as to pay-scale.

Yet some form of merit-pay system has been working in a number of school districts. In this pamphlet, such incentives in certain districts of Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts are discussed.

And there exist alternative methods for rewarding the superior teacher: differentiated teaching staff, approved-study plans, school improvement plans, and teacher executive programs. In general, these methods provide for increased compensation or recognition of superior teachers who work hard for personal or school improvement.

At Temple City, Calif., for instance, members of the school staff are classified as to abilities and given rank and pay accordingly. The classifications are master teacher, senior teacher, staff teacher, associate teacher, assistant teacher, educational technician, and clerk. Such a plan meets with less opposition from the National Education Association, primarily because it corresponds roughly to the hierarchy of a college faculty.

No decent college or university in this country would think of paying its professors merely on the basis of seniority. A labor-union mentality, however, oppresses the public schools—and impedes the recruiting of superior teachers.

"If it must be possible for teachers of high achievement to earn $12,000 to $15,000 a year, or even more," the Council for Basic Education people write, "must we ensure that every teacher can achieve this salary level merely by putting in time and taking a few college courses? In order to give appropriate salaries to the best, must we also give them to the rest?

On this question, as on many, the CBE is a pillar of sound sense in schooling. One can become a regular member of the council for $5, and this tax-exempt foundation is grateful for donations to support its good work. In the long run, the CBE's labors may mightily improve your local school.

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'Social Engineering' in Pilot Programs

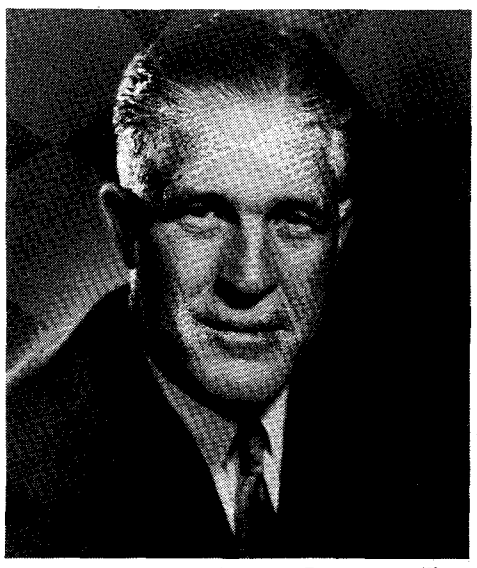
Radical Uses Planned for Model Cities Funds

By PAUL SCOTT

If government social planners get their way, the multi-billion-dollar Model Cities program will be used to finance much more revolutionary objectives than the rebuilding of American cities.

Several programs contained in pilot projects, under consideration by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), provide for the use of federal funds to change values and attitudes of residents of entire communities.

The "social engineering" will be attempted through controversial projects ranging from "sensitivity training" programs for community leaders, teachers,



HUD Secretary George Romney will have to decide what programs will receive Model Cities funds.

social workers and the police to federally financed art, theater, educational and health programs.

A striking illustration of the new programs to change people as well as cities is the one being proposed for Wichita, Kan. It recommends that a "sensitivity training" laboratory be established there during the proposed five-year rebuilding program.

During the first year the Wichita plan provides for the employment of "outside" workshop leaders qualified in sensitivity training such as those certified by the National Training Laboratory, to handle the job of changing values and attitudes of that city's residents.

"The format for such workshops," the Wichita proposal states, "would be to hold them in residential facilities far removed from the Wichita area for three days at a time."

Since the Wichita Model Cities plan places part of the blame for many of the city's ills on the conservatism of its residents, this is one of the city's "hang-ups" that the "sensitivity training" sessions will be designed to change.

As in many of the other Model Cities programs under consideration by HUD, federally financed art and theater programs are to be used in Wichita as the "social engineering" weapons to encourage "new goals and objectives" for the residents.

Significantly, the Wichita plan notes:

"Plato, a great philosopher, was especially sensitive to the impact that art can have upon a society, when he observed 2,400 years ago in *The Republic* that changes in the style of poetry or music will ultimately create changes in the political and social realm. Shelley, in agreement, wrote that 'Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.'

"In our time it may well be that Elvis Presley, Bob Dylan and the Beatles have been a prime catalyst of social change or that the film and television media are the real revolutionary forces in our world."

Educational programs under the Model Cities projects are being shaped by government social planners to cover ways to force local changes in school curriculum in addition to reforming teaching techniques and providing new school buildings.

Under several of the Model Cities programs, cities will be offered federal aid and encouraged to develop "black studies" programs and "sex education" and "sensitivity training" courses for high schools.

Health programs under several of the Model Cities proposals are being designed to vastly expand the government's birth control services, making them available to both married and unmarried women.

The Wichita plan includes a bold new experiment in socialized medical care for inner-city residents. Under the controversial plan, 1,000 families (representing approximately 3,500 persons) with incomes ranging from $3,000 to $6,000 will be selected to receive medical and dental care services partially paid for by the federal government.

Families with incomes from $3,000 to $3,999 would pay 25 per cent of the cost of the service while the federal government would pick up the tab for the other 75 per cent. Families in the income range from $4,000 to $4,999 will split the cost while families in the $5,000 to $5,999 income will pay 75 per cent with the federal government paying the rest.

For prescription drugs, the experimental program calls for the government splitting the cost with each of the 1,000 families. U.S. taxpayers' cost for financing the program during the first year is estimated at $1,306,700.

If this medical care program is well received in Wichita, HUD officials are planning to recommend that it be adopted in other cities with the President proposing the program on a national level in 1972. The President's proposed guaranteed income program was generated by an experiment program under the government's anti-poverty agency.

One of the most interesting innovations in most of the Model Cities programs now under consideration by HUD is the provision to permit 18-year-olds to vote and serve on neighborhood councils.

These councils, which are stirring up considerable controversy, are locally elected groups designed to increase citizens' participation in programs and decisions in Model Cities projects.

Inclusion of the 18-year-old voting privilege in the Model Cities program is expected to generate new pressure on the city level for the lowering of the state voting age requirement from 21 to 18.

Cities applying for Model Cities funds are being urged by the government social planners to include in their rebuilding proposals a program for establishing local civilian review boards over the police.

Other programs involving police control being pushed under Model Cities cover include projects urging the preparation of "situation manuals" offering guides for police officers in dealing with minority groups, and "sensitivity training" programs for all officers.

★ ★ ★

Those recent secret talks in Belgrade between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito could be the forerunner for new Soviet military moves in Europe.

Members of the Warsaw Pact, the Moscow-run military alliance of Eastern European nations, are being privately informed that the Gromyko-Tito negotiations dealt with "the need for establishing a friendly Communist regime in Albania."

In the language of Moscow's grand strategy for Europe, this means that the Soviet leaders believe the time is ripe for the forward positioning of Russian military forces in strategic Albania on the Adriatic sea.

For several months American intelligence agents have been receiving information from behind the Iron Curtain that Russia has begun organizing a paratroop invasion force for seizing Albania.

Since Yugoslavian officials are openly expressing an interest in bringing about a change in the "hostile" Albanian regime, American intelligence authorities believe that Gromyko used the talks to obtain Tito's approval to overfly Yugoslavia air spaces to land Soviet troops in Albania.

Although it was not publicized in the West at the time, Tito permitted the Russians to fly military supplies via Yugoslavia to Egypt during and immediately after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Soviet planes ferrying the supplies to Nasser used Yugoslavian airfields as refueling bases.

Is This the Republic's Finest Hour?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I cannot visualize a viable government that loses control of the employes pledged to its support. If the army revolts, a junta inevitably takes over. And when the civilian workers revolt, what price stability? Either way, it's a revolution.

So, if you cling to traditional values, some current goings-on make the state of the Union seem precarious. But if you are a free-wheeling liberal, this tearing down of old standards marks the Republic's finest hour.

However you feel, the revolution draws on apace and September 18 may yet replace July 4 as a national holiday. For that is the day the embattled teachers of Los Angeles struck a mighty blow for freedom (or anarchy) by—in defiance of their contracts—staging a walkout that shut down half the city's primary and secondary schools.

It was a telling exhibition of "teacher power." As one orator put it, "Today we have finally achieved first-class citizenship." Those to whom we entrust our young will no longer have to sit in the back of the bus. And there are threats of a really big strike in the spring—unless they get all they want.

This, of course, is no two-bit revolution like that of 1776. That, we are told, was a phony which merely established a huge body of second-class citizens who could never advance themselves and were forced to bow beneath the yoke of the economic elite.

But this new one is the McCoy. It is a syndicalist uprising of our oppressed citizenry against the cliche taboos of law and order, the sanctity of contract and similar jazz designed to keep them enslaved. A combination of various blocs—minorities, unions, intellectuals and whatnot—masterminded by bloc heads—will take over and give the common man his God-given right to decide what laws he will obey and those he can do without.

Shows you how wrong a guy can be. I had grown up believing that nowhere else on earth were there so many first-class citizens; that, whatever our backgrounds, we were all far better off than we would have been if our forebears had stayed in their native lands—whether they had landed here on Plymouth Rock or Ellis Island. We were all for one and one for all, because, as my old friend Harry Hershfield put it, "We came on different ships, but we're all in the same boat now."

I fear the kids on my block were brainwashed by fuddy-duddy teachers who had indoctrinated us with quotations from agents of the Military-Industrial Complex like Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale and Ben Franklin, instead of the works of Mao. Our folks came from many lands, but we were neither Irish-American, Italian-American, Jewish-American nor any other hyphenate. We were, very proudly, just Americans.

But this powerful combination of various blocs has opened my eyes to the shabby treatment I got. And though it's not easy for me to demonstrate for the unalienable rights I wasn't deprived of, I want my fair share.

It's easier, of course, for any member of a minority to join this Cosa Nostra. It is an honor conferred at birth and entitles the recipient to certain perquisites and fringe benefits as long as he remains true to the self-appointed leader of his particular bloc and votes as directed to. But once he begins to think and vote like an unhyphenated American—good night! He becomes an enemy of the people.

Yet I would not have you think that because the group is exclusive, it is undemocratic. Wasps can make the leap by joining the ADA, writing a nudist play, denouncing our boys in Viet Nam as war criminals and/or calling policemen "pigs." Any one of these acts of faith will open intellectual doors to you, and you will never be thoughtlessly reminded of your heritage. After all, it wasn't your fault.

But one word of warning: Be sure to use the right lingo. When you refer to the movement, stress that it is "militant." And when you advocate government funds for some project, don't say "funds." The proper phrase is "massive funds"—Cosa Nostra thinks big and has no room for pikers.

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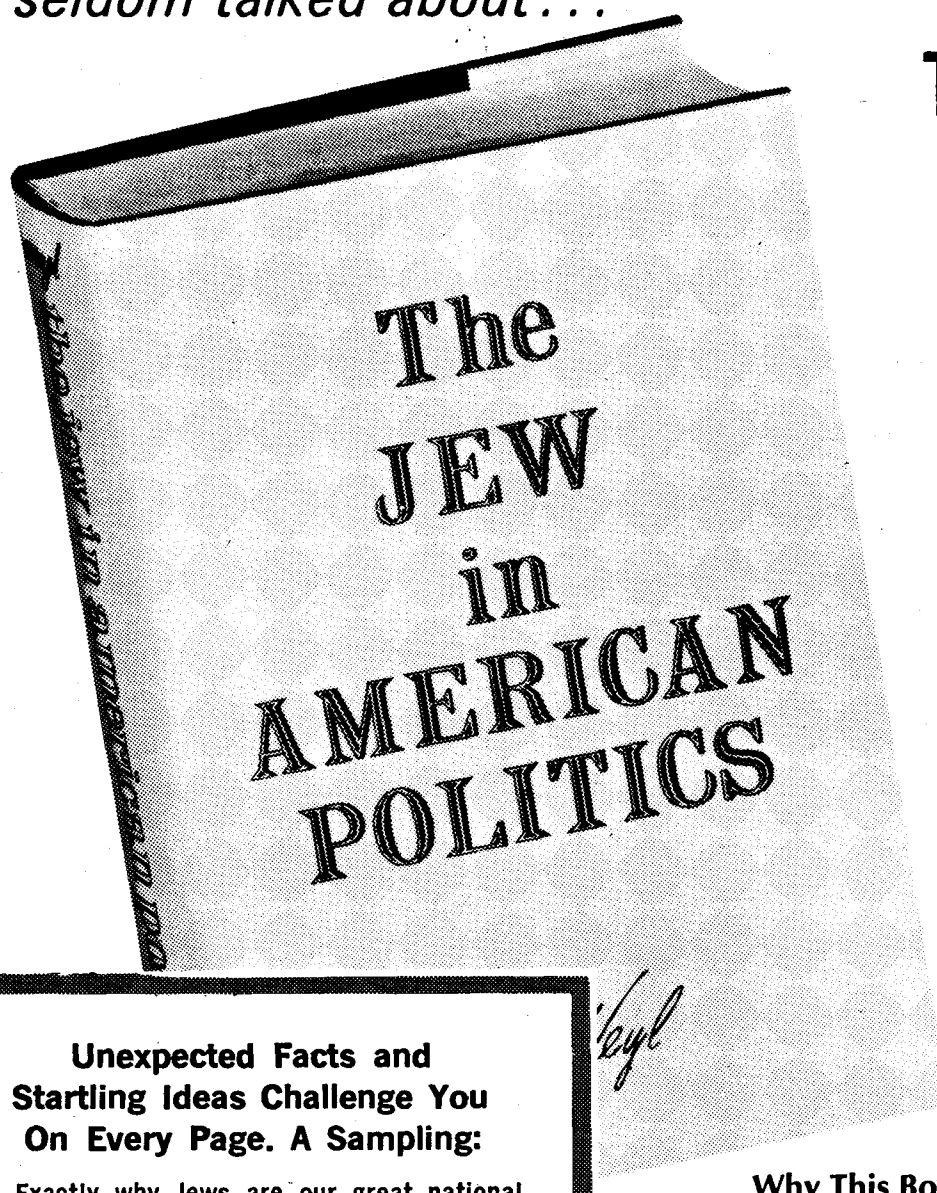
The first conservative book on a subject that is often thought about but seldom talked about . . .



The Jew in American Politics

by Nathaniel Weyl, author of "Red Star Over Cuba"

375 pages including 28 pages of documentation and 7-page index.
A Selection of the Conservative Book Club.

AMERICAN JEWS, says Nathaniel Weyl in this trailblazing book, are a political enigma. Here, in the most privileged country the world has ever known, Jews occupy a uniquely privileged niche. They are an elite within an elite. Weyl cites an abundance of figures that bear out what is generally known. Proportionately, affluent Jewish families outnumber affluent Christian families nearly four to one. Jews make up 3.5% of the population but earn 10% of the total personal income, number 20% of American millionaires. The figures are equally impressive in terms of higher education, percentage of scientists and professionals, artists and writers.

Plainly, American Jews stand out as our great national achievers. Yet, for a generation and more, the majority of them have been pulled toward a Liberal-to-radical stance. Many have sympathized with the Soviet Union and fought anti-Communists. *Why?*

And why, on the other hand, do most Jews shun conservatism, when conservatism stresses individualism, diversity, order, reward for achievement, respect for the right of a man or a minority to be different? These questions form the theme of one of the most enlightening, one of the most important, one of the most outspoken books you will read this year.

Why This Book Could Usher in a New Chapter in American Political History

As Nathaniel Weyl sees it, the long romance between American Jewry and Liberal-to-radical politics is cooling. Not that he expects a breakup tomorrow. But three powerful forces are combining to lead American Jews, out of elemental self-interest, to take a hard look at 1968's political realities. And when this political realignment becomes a fact, we think *The Jew In American Politics* will take its place on the select shelf reserved for Books That Made American History. Mr. Weyl's book is not only the first to presage a Jewish turn to conservatism; he shows us *why* it ought to happen, why conservatism and American Jews are made for each other.

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Our Dikes Crumble in Europe

Social Democrats gain in West Germany

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Americans need not understand all the intricacies of West German politics to appreciate the significance of the recent elections; it is enough for us to realize that Willy Brandt and his Social Democratic party are supported by the Kremlin.

After governing West Germany continuously since the Federal Republic was founded in 1949, the Conservative Christian Democrats headed by Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger may be forced out of power. One of the governments most friendly to the United States in the world today is probably on its way out.

Let us be forewarned: If Brandt emerges from the election's deadlocked aftermath as West Germany's next chancellor, the United States and the free world may be confronted with a disaster in Europe that could make the defeat now incubating for us in Southeast Asia pale into insignificance.

Our former ambassador to Switzerland, Columnist Henry J. Taylor, summarizes the danger well:

"As if all-out appeasement were a simple and sure road to peace, Brandt is performing, regarding Russia, much as color-blind Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright performs in our country regarding Hanoi."

In this historic election, the Christian Democrats led the balloting with 46.1 per cent of the vote as against 42.7 per cent for the liberal Social Democrats and 5.2 per cent for a small third party, the Free Democrats. The significance of these returns is that the

Germany's Social Democratic party leader, Willy Brandt, may be the new chancellor of Germany.

Christian Democrats polled 1.5 per cent less than they did in 1965, while the Social Democrats polled 3.4 per cent more. The gain-loss comparison may be enough to tip the scales in Brandt's favor. It gives the Socialists a psychological edge. They are, in fact, already claiming victory.

Because neither major party won a majority of seats in the Bundestag, the Free Democrats hold the decisive balance of power. Neither the Christian Democrats nor the Social Democrats can form a new government without entering into a coalition with this small third-party group.

Already the liberal Free Democrats have virtually promised their support to the Social Democrats. And so the Socialists, who have participated as junior partners with the Christian Democrats in a coalition government during the past three years, are now likely to become senior partners in a new leftist regime. The implications are staggering.

The first repercussions from these developments are being felt in the international money markets, because the Social Democrats favor revaluing the German mark upward to reflect its strength in relation to other currencies. While this may stimulate imports into Germany and assist the American balance-of-payments deficit, it could also shake other currencies.

The most far-reaching and potentially dangerous implication is to be found in the traditionally soft attitude of Brandt's Socialists toward communism. As the vehicle of German conservatism, the Christian Democrats have taken a hard line against the Communist world for 20 years. They have made West Germany a bulwark against Soviet expansion in Europe. With first-rate combat forces of more than 450,000 men, West Germany has been our strongest ally.

All this is now in grave jeopardy. The Social Democrats openly favor "a more flexible line" in dealing with Moscow and Eastern Europe. This means detente with the Communists, ranging from passive accommodation to outright appeasement.

All the evil portents are there—all the ingredients for catastrophe.

The West German president, Gustav Heinemann, in office only a few months and unaffected by the election, is himself a liberal who is already well-known for being soft where the Communists are concerned. With Brandt as chancellor, President Heinemann, who has been under Christian Democratic wraps, will become a dangerous, negative influence. And the Kremlin has been very alert about influencing the course of events in West Germany.

Only a fortnight before the election, Willy Brandt and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko held a semi-clandestine meeting in New York; incident to the opening of the United Nations General Assembly. Moreover, during the campaign, the Kremlin dangled before the German electorate an offer for a non-aggression pact that was tailored to help the Social Democrats.

Let us not forget that the Social Democrats have a way of ushering in calamities. The last time they were elected to lead Germany was in 1930—just ahead of the Nazis.

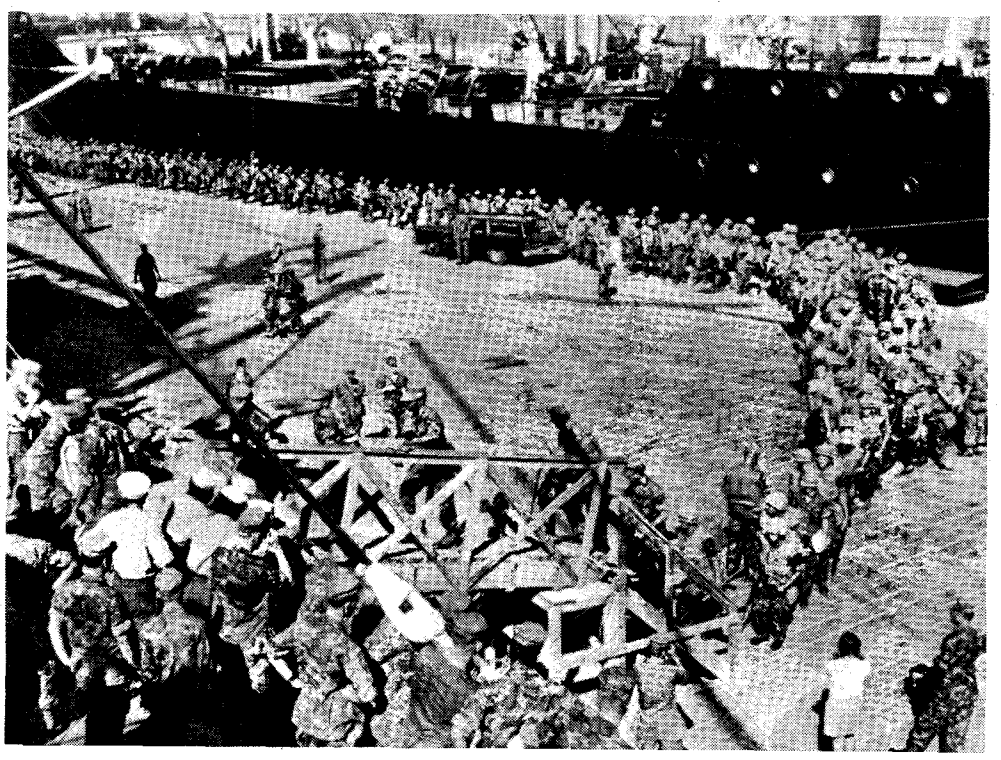
The free world's dikes are crumbling in West Germany; NATO's days may well be numbered. All that we have struggled to preserve in Europe during and since World War II is now imperiled.

□□□

NEW POPULAR PHRASE—"Prediction: By the end of this year, the following interrogative sentence will be completed by hundreds and perhaps thousands of demands: 'If we can put a man on the moon, why can't we . . ?' It may well prove to be the most popular opener of all time."
—From the Montgomery *Advertiser*

□□□

"MELVIN LAIRD, secretary of defense, must be rated the greatest production genius since the world was created. He's been defense secretary for a mere eight months, yet is getting blamed for fathering the entire military-industrial complex."—From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*



Marines of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Marine Regiment, board a troopship on their way home. Regiment was pulled out of Viet Nam as part of President Nixon's phased withdrawal of troops.

Viet Nam Question:

After the Stalemate, What?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Once upon a time there were loud calls for negotiation with Hanoi and the Viet Cong. These negotiations, we were told, would bring an end to the hostilities in Viet Nam. But all they have achieved is stalemate, a situation in which the Communists have demanded all or nothing at all.

Once upon a time there were loud calls for a cessation of bombing north of the demilitarized zone. This would demonstrate America's good intentions and lead the Communists to negotiate seriously for an end to the fighting. The bombing was halted by President Johnson, but it achieved nothing. The North Vietnamese regulars in South Viet Nam continued to fight as hard as ever—or even harder.

Once upon a time, there were loud cries for the beginning of an American military withdrawal in South Viet Nam. This, again, would lead to positive moves on the part of Hanoi and a gradual de-escalation of the fighting. President Nixon has slowly been withdrawing combat troops from Southeast Asia and from critical combat areas in South Viet Nam. But the Communists have insisted that they would not negotiate seriously until all American troops were withdrawn—at a time when the United States would have nothing left to negotiate.

Once more there are loud cries. Republican Sen. Charles Goodell of New York, whose appointment to the Senate by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to fill Robert F. Kennedy's unexpired term signalled a shift on his part to the left, now rises to demand that all American troops be out of Viet Nam by Dec. 1, 1970. Such an announcement, of course, would mean that the Communist negotiators in Paris could thumb their noses at the United States team there. They would realize that any such announcement is tantamount to surrender.

This is being called the "Cornwallis solution" in Washington, an expression harking back to the full surrender of the British to the Continental Armies in Yorktown during the American Revolution.

The "Cornwallis solution" as applied in Viet Nam, however, would mean the deliberate desertion by the United States of hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese who could count on the kind of massacre which would make the Hue atrocities during the Tet offensive seem like tender, loving care.

Sen. Goodell's motives for attempting to embarrass the Nixon Administration at this critical point are hard to fathom. In the past months he has cut himself loose from even the so-called "liberals" and "moderates" in his party. He has indicated to Gov. Rockefeller that he is ready to split the Republican party in New York if it does not support him in his first election attempt in 1970. At present, his major allies in New York state are the radical-left Democrats, men like Democratic Rep. Allard Lowenstein, whose extreme "peace" sentiments are no secret to anyone in "Fun City" or in Washington.

It may be, however, that the "peace" forces now attempting to pressure Mr. Nixon into a precipitous tail-between-the-legs posture on Viet Nam have wildly miscalculated. Many who looked askance at what they considered the President's "soft" policy on Viet Nam will now rally 'round, shocked by the notion of surrender.

Others who quietly supported Mr. Nixon's "gradualist" policies in Viet Nam will become more vocal. And for the first time, an American consensus on Viet Nam may emerge. The Goodell-Lowenstein "peace" extremists in Congress could therefore find themselves isolated.

On the other hand, it may be that years of propagandistic attrition and the anti-Viet Nam bias of much of the media have had their effect. Sen. Goodell may be able to muster the votes in the Senate to tie Mr. Nixon's hands and to force a total withdrawal of the American presence. This could be a Pyrrhic victory. For once the results of a surrender penetrated the American consciousness, the pendulum could swing back as it did in the '50s after the Chinese debacle.

The resultant search for scapegoats would lead to a figurative hanging from the political yard-arm of the Goodells and others responsible. This would make lively reading in the public prints, but it would do this country little good, either at home or abroad.

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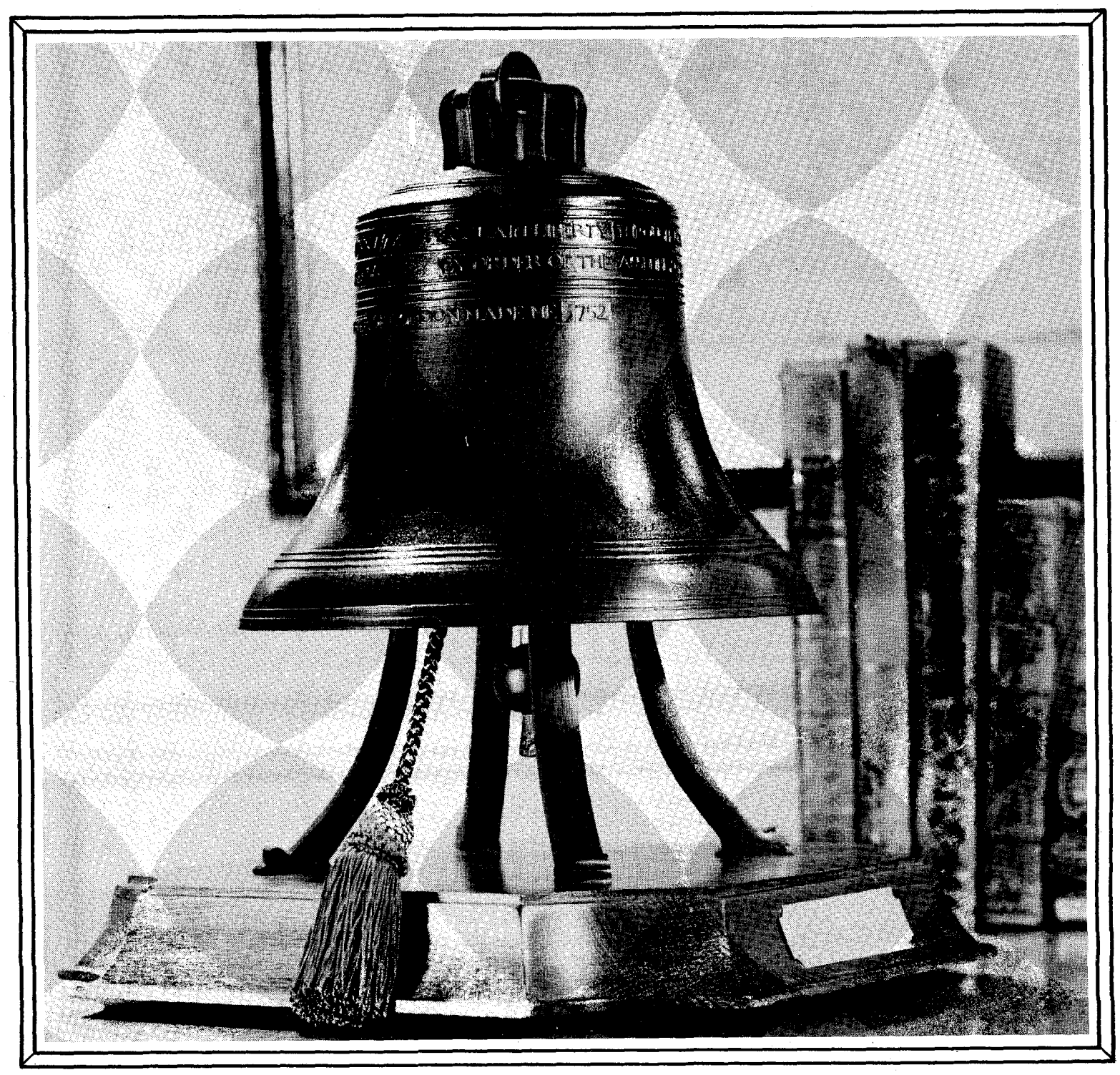
THE ETERNAL SYMBOL OF PATRIOTISM



The Liberty Bell

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in 1976, the famous Whitechapel Bell Foundry of London (the same bellmakers who cast the original Liberty Bell) is casting a limited number of bicentenary Liberty Bells to the original design and on the original site. The purchase price is $875, inclusive of duty, plus a small charge for crating and delivery.

In 1751, the Province of Pennsylvania had a policy of individual freedom that much influenced the other colonies. It was fitting that when the Assembly of the Province decided to order a bell, they asked that on the bell's shoulder be inscribed the words from Leviticus, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Thomas Lester's Whitechapel Foundry in London was chosen to cast the bell, and in Sept. 1752 it arrived in America. Philadelphians gathered in the State House yard to hear it ring out. It cracked, however, upon the first strike, apparently as the result of mishandling on the hazardous sea voyage. In 400 years it was to be the only bell from Whitechapel's to have so cracked! But the bell was re-cast and hung in the tower and for the next 20 years it would ring out on the burning issues of the day. It proclaimed George III. It tolled the "death of liberty" with the Stamp Act. And finally in July of 1776 it rang in the Declaration of Independence. Now the bell was part of American history. Since then it has pealed forth great news, from Cornwallis' surrender in 1781 to D-Day in 1944.

The Bicentenary bells are exact in every particular to that cast in 1752 by Whitechapel's master founder, Thomas Lester, for the State House of Pennsylvania (now called Independence Hall). In fact, some of the descendants of the original bellmakers who cast the first Liberty Bell are engaged in the work of hand casting the replicas. The Whitechapel Bell Foundry was founded in 1570 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Many of its earliest bells are still in existence, including two bells at Westminster Abbey cast in 1583 and 1598. Among the recent bells from Whitechapel are those of Washington Cathedral, hung in 1964. The bells of Big Ben, which towers over the Houses of Parliament, were also cast at Whitechapel.

Each bell — black, like the 1752 bell — will be made to the scale of one-fifth of the original, weigh approximately 20 pounds and stand 13½ inches high with the base. The plinth is hand carved from oak grown in Windsor Forest. The replica will be made in the manner of the original Liberty Bell and will carry the quotation from Leviticus inscribed on a silver plaque in the type face used by the original bellfounder, Thomas Lester. The silver plate is fashioned from fine English solid silver. Also, an additional optional silver plaque will carry the personal inscription of the subscriber. The clapper, drawn into a hand grip with a tasseled cord, strikes the walls of the bell and causes it to ring a perfectly tuned note at each stroke. Each bell has been meticulously tuned (actually five partial tones are tuned together) to its final and perfect pitch. In only one particular will the bicentenary bell, save for its size, differ from the bell now in Philadelphia. The bell will have no crack. It will sing its song as magnificently as the original Liberty Bell did when Lester tested it before it left London. In this way the ancient and historic contract between London and Philadelphia is fulfilled.

Only 2400 bells will be cast — each bell thus symbolically representing a separate month of independence. WHEN THE LIMITED EDITION IS COMPLETED, THE MOULDS WILL BE DESTROYED. Like most limited editions, these bells are already becoming collectors' items. Consequently, they should increase substantially in value, with the greatest appreciation occurring on those with the lower numbers.

Indeed, the Liberty Bell is an heirloom and tradition to be preserved by generations of your family, symbolic of American independence and individual freedom. You may order a bell by sending a check for $875, or, if you prefer, a $100 deposit, to Liberty Bell Limited Edition, 4300 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass. 02199. Upon receipt of your order, you will be promptly informed of the reservation for the casting of the bell allocated to you. Bells are numbered in sequence as orders are received.

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John Ashbrook of Ohio

Conservative Power in the House

By GEORGE F. HOBART

Rep. John Milan Ashbrook of Ohio's 17th Congressional District has been called a lot of things by a lot of people, and few of the descriptive phrases can be characterized as mild. His friend, *National Review* Editor William F. Buckley Jr., has said of Ashbrook, ". . . there is no man in Congress whose presence there I myself find more reassuring . . . he shows the kind of political courage by which one distinguishes between those automatons who represent us in Washington and those special others who are human beings endowed with mind and an active conscience . . . a human force in which the high qualities of the statesman come together in profusion."

The Political Action Committee of the Ohio AFL-CIO does not quite agree. They picture Ashbrook as "a Neanderthal mossback reactionary," and "a menace to a free democratic society as we know it today." Equally uneasy about Congressman Ashbrook is Ohio's Republican governor, James Rhodes, a staunch organization man and political "boss" in the traditional sense. Rhodes apparently views Ashbrook as a maverick who has the audacity to put conscience before the dictates of party politicians.

But unprejudiced analysts unanimously judge John Ashbrook to be one of the most outspoken conservative leaders in the nation today. Columnist Robert Novak, of the "Evans-Novak" team, termed him "an attractive and militant conservative." *Newsday* political writer Joseph Albright finds Ashbrook "young and articulate," while Robert J. Havel of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* writes that he is "an outspoken conservative who gets mildly annoyed when he is described as an ultra-conservative, which he almost invariably is." William Vance of the Akron *Beacon Journal* concludes Rep. Ashbrook "speaks for conservatives far beyond his own political bailiwick" in Ohio and has come to be one of "Nixon's chief congressional critics."

Columnist Ralph de Toledano calls him "a congressman of courage and determination," and Holmes Alexander waxed Biblical in saying Ashbrook "is a tall, blond bomber of the Altar of Baal," meaning liberaldom.

Whatever their opinon, few political observers have been able to ignore John Ashbrook.

His name is scattered across the pages of recent books on Republican party affairs and his hard work, constant travel and tireless speechmaking have made him a conservative hero at the age of 41. A scientific poll of the 31,000 members of the Conservative Book Club a few months ago found Ashbrook rated fifth in popularity in a field of 95 names, preceded only by Sen. Barry Goldwater, Gov. Ronald Reagan, Sen. John Tower and William F. Buckley Jr.

All this would have made John Ashbrook's father very proud. Though he died in 1940 when John was only 12 years old, William Albert Ashbrook, who was a member of Congress from the 17th Ohio district for a total of 19 years, would have felt that his son had followed faithfully in his footsteps. Yet Ashbrook's father was a life-long Democrat. In this seeming paradox lies a possible key to John Ashbrook's political philosophy.

George F. Hobart is the pen name of a Washington journalist and political activist who has long followed congressional affairs.

The first of the Ashbrook clan left England for the New World aboard the fragile bark, *Antelope*, arriving on the shores of the Virginia Colony in 1636. Almost two centuries later John Ashbrook's great-grandfather left his home in Hampshire County, Virginia (now part of West Virginia's eastern panhandle) and in 1821 settled his family in the virgin forests near a small Licking County, Ohio village called Johnstown.

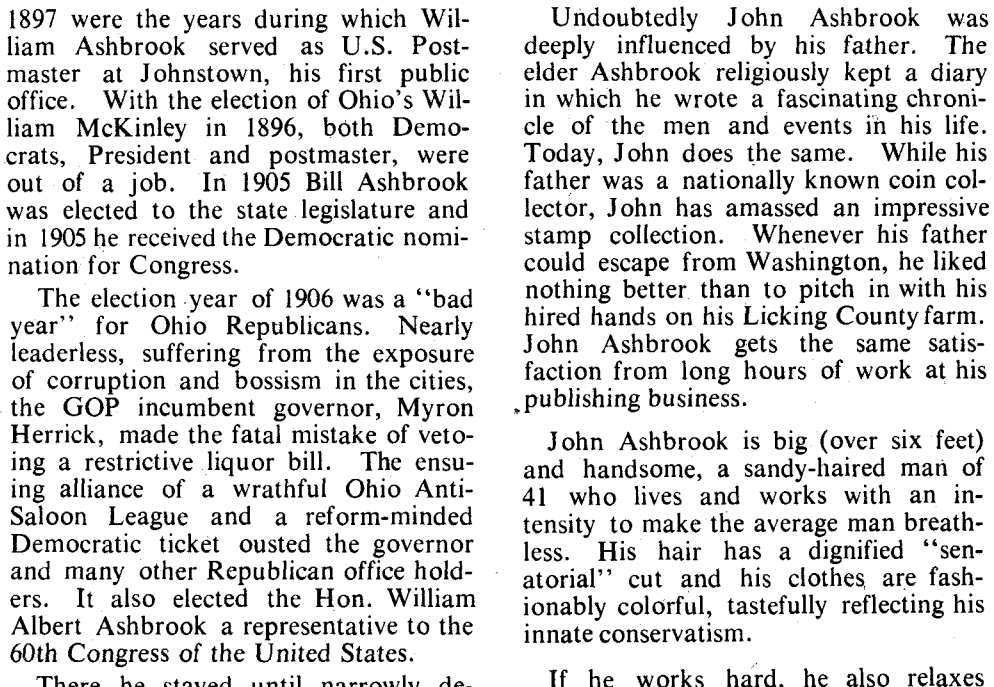
With the approach of the War Between the States, Ohio began to show its migrant origins. Southern Ohio, populated by Jacksonian Democratic ex-Virginians who held no slaves but did sympathize with the South, became a Civil War hotbed for "Copperhead Democrats." The northern area of the state, settled by Yankees, remained loyal to the Union and some joined the new Republican party.

John Ashbrook's father was born July 1, 1867, at Johnstown. Licking County is immediately northeast of Columbus, the state capital, and was then an area of rich farmland, many small towns and God-fearing Baptists and Methodists. Though the county tended to vote Republican, it was located on the mythical east-west line extending across Ohio from where the "Buckeye State" joins Pennsylvania's southern border, the Mason-Dixon Line. One observer noted the political effect of this dividing line with the phrase "you could see the county courthouses change from Union blue to Confederate gray; from Republican to Democrat."

John's father, William Albert Ashbrook, always proudly identified himself as "a Grover Cleveland reform Democrat." In the 1880s this meant opposition to "the trusts," big city Republican "bossism," and "Eastern Yankee big business."

In 1885, at the adventuresome age of 18, William Ashbrook founded a weekly newspaper, the *Johnstown Independent*, which still prospers. Since 1953 it has been published by John M. Ashbrook. The elder Ashbrook also began a banking business in Johnstown now run by John's brother, Bill. His brother, Jim, heads the local insurance agency.

Though Grover Cleveland may have been a reformer, he remembered his friends. His second term from 1893 to 1897 were the years during which William Ashbrook served as U.S. Postmaster at Johnstown, his first public office. With the election of Ohio's William McKinley in 1896, both Democrats, President and postmaster, were out of a job. In 1905 Bill Ashbrook was elected to the state legislature and in 1905 he received the Democratic nomination for Congress.



Rep. John M. Ashbrook's public record and private comments indicate only one standard which he applies to himself and all other public figures regardless of party: *the principles of conservatism.*

The election year of 1906 was a "bad year" for Ohio Republicans. Nearly leaderless, suffering from the exposure of corruption and bossism in the cities, the GOP incumbent governor, Myron Herrick, made the fatal mistake of vetoing a restrictive liquor bill. The ensuing alliance of a wrathful Ohio Anti-Saloon League and a reform-minded Democratic ticket ousted the governor and many other Republican office holders. It also elected the Hon. William Albert Ashbrook a representative to the 60th Congress of the United States.

There he stayed until narrowly defeated in the massive 1920 Republican landslide led by his friend and fellow Ohio newspaperman, Sen. Warren G. Harding. Ashbrook returned to Ohio to engage in business and farming, and in 1934 was again elected to the House. He served until his death on New Year's Day, 1940, and during those years fought the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt with all the zeal he had applied in promoting the reform Democracy of Grover Cleveland nearly a half-century before.

William Ashbrook remarried at the age of 55, after the death of his first wife. His second marriage produced five children, three boys and two girls. John Milan Ashbrook was born on Sept. 21, 1928, when his father was 62.

A 1932 photograph shows young Ashbrook (front) with his brother, William, and their father, Congressman William Ashbrook.

Those who know John Ashbrook are aware of his great respect and admiration of his father. One of the congressman's close associates remarked that "sometimes it seems as if John is trying to be as much like his father as possible."

Undoubtedly John Ashbrook was deeply influenced by his father. The elder Ashbrook religiously kept a diary in which he wrote a fascinating chronicle of the men and events in his life. Today, John does the same. While his father was a nationally known coin collector, John has amassed an impressive stamp collection. Whenever his father could escape from Washington, he liked nothing better than to pitch in with his hired hands on his Licking County farm. John Ashbrook gets the same satisfaction from long hours of work at his publishing business.

John Ashbrook is big (over six feet) and handsome, a sandy-haired man of 41 who lives and works with an intensity to make the average man breathless. His hair has a dignified "senatorial" cut and his clothes are fashionably colorful, tastefully reflecting his innate conservatism.

If he works hard, he also relaxes hard. He loves to take an afternoon off (though he rarely can) to unwind by a swimming pool. A Baptist and regular church-goer, he neither smokes nor drinks (though he has been known to sip a glass of wine). More often than not, when the drinks are ordered he has a Coke.

"John," as everyone calls him, is also somewhat of a gourmet. He can reel off a list of the finest restaurants in every major U.S. city along with their specialties. Periodically he fights the weight problem with crash diets which temporarily succeed. He loves football (especially as played by his favorite, Ohio State), and that typically American obsession, baseball. Like so many Ohio politicians, he likes nothing better than to spend an evening (sometimes the better part of the night) playing cards with his two brothers or his political "cronies."

Ashbrook's friends in the House of Representatives are mostly those who share his political views. Cincinnati's Rep. Don Clancy, Columbus' Rep. Sam

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Devine, Pennsylvania's Rep. Bob Watkins, Rep. John Hunt of New Jersey and Ashbrook form the nucleus of an after-session dinner club which often adjourns from Capitol Hill to a plain, middle-class suburban restaurant that serves excellent home cooking, the Oakland Inn, or one of several Washington beef houses.

John Ashbrook, those who know him marvel, has a tremendous capacity for work. He admits, "I often work 90 hours a week, although I used to do more." He expects almost as much from his staff.

His Capitol Hill office turns out a steady stream of well-researched reports, speeches and inserts for the *Congressional Record*. He and his staff pay meticulous attention to the needs of the people of Ohio's 17th district and it is an office rule that every letter must be answered promptly. (But his own desk is usually stacked so deep with papers, an important document sometimes gets "mislaid.")

Rep. Ashbrook not only maintains constant contact with his Ohio constituents, he rarely fails to spend a weekend at home. He has been known to commute daily from Washington to Ohio and back for a week; from the House floor to meetings, fairs and business in Ohio.

Added to this is a heavy schedule of congressional committee hearings and a constant round of airplane flights to all points in the nation for speeches in behalf of conservatism. In one recent month the Ohio congressman spoke at dinners in Los Angeles, New York City and Arkansas, attended a meeting in Chicago, spent most of each week in Washington or Johnstown and also represented the U.S. Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, as a delegate to the annual meeting of the International Labor Organization.

John Ashbrook very much wanted to serve in the Second World War, but was too young. In 1946, after graduation from Johnstown High School, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy and promptly volunteered for a two-year tour of duty with Adm. Richard Byrd's last expedition to Anarctica. Ashbrook served as a lowly Storekeeper, First Class, on one of the supply ships and he still vividly recalls the bone-chilling cold during Christmas, 1946.

Rep. Ashbrook (center) discusses political strategy with Richard Nixon and fellow Ohio Republican Rep. Sam Devine.

When Storekeeper Ashbrook returned from the U.S. Navy, he married the attractive young Joan Eilene Needels on July 3, 1948. They now have three beautiful daughters. Barbara, the oldest, is married to Joseph Robertson, the son of a Johnstown doctor, and has presented her parents with a grandson. Both Barbara and her husband are attending Ashland College. The Ashbrooks' second daughter, Laura, 19, has just started her studies at Wittenberg College in Ohio, and Madeline, 15, is in high school.

If his family history had not served to make John Ashbrook a conservative according to his account, his college education would have.

He was graduated from Harvard University in 1952, obtaining a B.S. degree cum laude. "I started out at Harvard as a conservative," he says, "but my professors and what they taught me made me even more so. I learned the worst thing a college student can do is accept without question everything he hears in a classroom. I went to Harvard because of its academic prestige, but I never did get over the feeling that I was in Eastern enemy territory a long way from the Midwest heartland. My theory about a Harvard education is that if you don't mention it, usually nobody will notice."

Small wonder the future Ohio congressman was "turned off" by what he found at Harvard. Among others, Ashbrook took courses from a list of liberal professors that reads like a conservative black list.

Included were Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; John Kenneth Galbraith; Samuel Beer (the first president of Americans for Democratic Action); Alvin Hansen; Merle Fainsod; Seymour Harris and McGeorge Bundy. Of Bundy, who later became an adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Ashbrook has a strong recollection: "When I first met him he struck me as absolutely the worst liberal I have ever known and, in my opinion, he's been going downhill ever since."

In 1955 John Ashbrook received his law degree from Ohio State University and joined the staff of the attorney general of Ohio as a special counsel. He still maintains an active interest in the law and has a legal library which would rival most law schools.

In national and Ohio Republican circles, John Ashbrook has not always been controversial. He worked his way up through party ranks beginning as precinct committeeman in Johnstown, a post he still holds. (Says Ashbrook: "I'm proudest of the fact that, just like the late Sen. Bob Taft, whenever my name has been on the ballot I have always carried my own precinct.") In 1956 Ashbrook defeated an incumbent to gain his first elective office—his father's old seat in the State House of Representatives. At the same time, from 1956 to 1960, he served as Licking County GOP chairman.

John Ashbrook's emergence on the national Republican scene came as a result of his election as president of the Ohio League of Young Republicans in 1954. "Ray Bliss [then Ohio GOP chairman] didn't really know how conservative I was," says Ashbrook, "or I would never have been elected."

Using his Ohio YR post as a springboard for national office, the young state legislator announced his candidacy for chairman of the Young Republican National Federation in 1955. With the help of close friends from his Harvard days, William A. Rusher (now publisher of *National Review*) and F. Clifton White (destined to become the "architect" of the 1964 Goldwater nomination), the three conducted such an effective campaign that Ashbrook was elected without opposition.

This tribute, then unprecedented in Young Republican annals, came as a result of hard work, careful vote-counting and campaign visits by Ashbrook to every state Young Republican meeting in the nation. It gave him his first taste of the national political exposure that has steadily increased since.

Looking back on Ashbrook's election as YR chairman, Clif White recently summed up the 1955 campaign's "blood, sweat and tears" succinctly: "In those days the only thing we ever worried about was where to bury the body."

Rep. Ashbrook has always played hard at politics, and he places a great deal of importance on the organizational aspect of that work. When he decided to run for Congress in 1960, he made sure that all the bases were covered within his own district and avoided a potential primary challenge. In November 1960, he defeated an incumbent liberal Democrat, Rep. Robert Levering, by a nearly 10,000-vote margin out of 140,000 votes.

Although he believes in strong organizational work on the local level, Rep. Ashbrook has fought hard against the development of Republican counterparts to the Democratic big-city machines. This stand, he says, "may not have made me very popular with the bosses and their followers, but I think it has helped me with rank-and-file Republicans in Ohio."

Rep. Ashbrook's remarks seem to be directed principally at Ohio's two-term Republican governor, James Rhodes, with whom Ashbrook has had some strong differences of opinion. He points out that Rhodes' rule of the Ohio GOP has produced one of the most liberal (ADA rating: 70) freshman Republicans in the U.S. Senate, William Saxbe. "I hardly think Saxbe reflects the views of most of Ohio's Republicans —or most of its citizens," says Rep. Ashbrook.

John Ashbrook has had to pay the price for his independent party attitude. As the result of the U.S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling, Ohio's congressional district lines have been redrawn twice since 1960, each time by GOP-controlled legislatures dominated by Gov. Rhodes.

"Each time mine has been the only district with an incumbent Republican which has been gerrymandered with the maximum possible harm for my re-election prospects." Each time, however, Ashbrook has beat the odds and won.

In 1966 he faced what was supposed to be his toughest test. The legislature threw him into the same district with an incumbent veteran Democratic congressman, Robert Secrest, who had served 20 years in the House. Ashbrook beat Secrest handily, but he expects future gerrymandering if he seeks to retain his House seat.

In the only head-on contest between Gov. Rhodes and Rep. Ashbrook, the congressman won hands down. That occurred in 1968 when Rhodes blocked Ashbrook from running as a GOP national convention delegate pledged to Rhodes' favorite son candidacy. Ashbrook needed Rhodes' approval as required by Ohio law, but the governor refused. Stung by Rhodes' high-haded actions, Ashbrook fielded his own slate, pledged to himself, and he, one other delegate and two alternates, all swamped Gov. Rhodes' handpicked candidates by large margins.

Says Ashbrook: "I'm not going to conform to what other people are doing for the sake of conformity. I try harder than most people to do what I think is right."

What is the philosophy that has made John Ashbrook, in the estimate of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, "a leading force in U.S. conservatism"? The Ohio congressman is quick to explain his views:

"I have a philosophy of government and I know what I believe. I guess I could be called a 'liberal' in the classic sense, but under today's labels I am a conservative. The true liberal fought for the individual's rights against the crown, which now means big government. But the modern liberal wants to give all power to the crown—to the executive—and that I will always fight. The modern liberal has an extremely shortsighted view. I think most conservatives have a sense of history which makes them far more visionary about the future.

"In the end, those who have stood and fought for principle have usually been vindicated. In my view, the American conservative is the one who must do that today."

Of his own conservatism he says: "I have a philosophy, viable or unviable, salable or unsalable. I know what I want to do."

Does this make him popular? "I recognize I am not appreciated by a lot of people and I don't much care. If the people want to retire me from office, it will be no great loss to me. I only persist in this because I believe in what I am doing. I'm not going to conform to what other people are doing just for the sake of conformity. I try harder than most people to do what I think is right."

His public record and private comments indicate only one set of standards which John Ashbrook applies to himself and all other public figures regardless of party: the principles of conservatism. In his view this allows room for occasional disagreement on special issues, but Ashbrook has been highly critical of liberal House Republicans who have consistently voted with the Democrats during recent years.

To underscore this record of liberal GOP defections, Ashbrook devised a scorecard he calls the "Democratic Margin of Victory" (DMV), a catalogue of the House votes since 1960 which resulted in victories for the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations solely because 30 or fewer House Republicans supported the liberal Democratic position.

Discussing the DMV, Ashbrook told the *Christian Science Monitor*'s Capitol Hill reporter, Lyn Shephard: "I don't object to anyone feeling strongly about an issue and voting with the Democrats on that account . . . but when they consistently vote that way . . . at least we can see to it that these defectors don't get rewarded."

Continued on page 14

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(*Continued from preceding page*)

Rep. Ashbrook has been just as strict in applying his standard of conservatism to Southern Democrats. He personally compiled the ACA, COPE and ADA scores of all Southern Democrats in the House to prove that fewer than 20 could be really termed "conservative."

Ashbrook's own House voting record since he came to Congress in 1961 shows him to be one of the most regular Republicans. He has voted with the majority of his GOP colleagues on almost every major issue and earned an ACA score of 98 per cent conservative.

That John Ashbrook finds himself increasingly at odds with a Republican President means only that he feels that White House proposals are getting more liberal. The Ohio Republican has made it clear that he is a member of the GOP because it is the conservative party. If the time should come when that ceases to be true, Ashbrook and a good many other GOP conservatives are unlikely to change their allegiance to principle first.

Ashbrook votes against more federal spending, increased federal control, and foreign aid. He has strongly backed the rights of laboring men against the labor bosses and has made it a habit to speak to union groups, when they will have him. (At one such meeting he read a letter he had received from AFL-CIO President George Meany demanding that he vote with "organized labor" on various issues. Ashbrook took an on-the-spot poll of the union members in the hall. When the show of hands ended, the surprised workers discovered they and their conservative congressman disagreed with Meany on federal gun control, higher taxes to finance welfare plans, federal "open housing" legislation and a host of other issues.)

As a lawyer, Ashbrook has a reverence for the Constitution and a deep concern for individual rights, as well as for the checks and balances that were meant to keep government in its place.

He has voted against such federal "civil rights" laws as "open housing" and public accommodations because he believes they falsely promise to elevate the "rights" of a few at the expense of the rights of all. Yet, he was one of the first to feel the lash from the backers of Alabama's George Wallace when he confessed he was puzzled that anyone could support for President a man who flew the Alabama state flag above the American flag at the state capitol in Montgomery.

Ashbrook on Wallace

In a pre-election statement last November, Ashbrook was far more explicit about Wallace: "As a conservative, I don't stand for enforced segregation. I stand for freedom and I think the Constitution does, too. George Wallace's slogan only recently was 'segregation forever' and . . . in my view that separates him decisively from the conservative position."

Ashbrook attacked Wallace as a "big spender" and "populist" whose attitude towards the federal government "is that of one of the biggest centralizers" except when it comes to questions of "racial policy."

Rep. Ashbrook opposes total abolition of the electoral college (he favors the district plan) and while acknowledging the population problem, he is against government birth control plans ("That certainly is a matter for individual conscience"). The Ohioan would cut off federal aid to students who disrupt campuses, though not to entire colleges which suffer such disorder. He opposes gun controls, but, since he is strong on law and order, he favors mandatory sentences for convicted felons who use firearms.

As the ranking Republican on the House Internal Security Committee, Rep. Ashbrook is far more concerned with the threat of communism than the average congressman. He faults public officials for ignoring or whitewashing Communist infiltration and exploitation of campus disorders, racial agitation and urban riots. Applying his informed concern about communism to the foreign policy field, Ashbrook says the United States should always decide "in favor of our national security," and therefore he backs the ABM deployment.

"There are certain gut issues which divide conservatives and liberals," says Rep. Ashbrook, "and these include the attitudes toward limited government, fiscal responsibility and our policy toward communism."

The crux of his differences with the Nixon Administration, as Ashbrook sees it, is consistency. "I am not one of those who can 'view with alarm' under Kennedy and Johnson, then 'point with pride' when the same policies are advanced by a Republican President. In time some circumstances may change, but basic principles remain the same."

Although Rep. Ashbrook is the ranking Republican on the House Committee on Internal Security and third ranking on the politically potent House Committee on Education and Labor, he doubts he will ever attain any House Republican leadership post. After a decade of observing Congress, he says: "It appears to me that the first requirement for becoming a Republican leader is to establish yourself as a conservative and then slowly and constantly move to the left. It's the classic example of people 'going along' in order to 'get along.'" Ashbrook once told an Ohio newspaper: "I have never felt I had to go along with anything and getting along is not important to me."

While Ashbrook has many friends in the House, his outspoken conservatism has often made GOP leaders uneasy. He has a reputation for highly quotable cloakroom comments that can sting.

At a luncheon at the "Republican roundtable" in the House restaurant in 1968, Ashbrook and several others listened to one of the House GOP leaders expound on the political benefits that would accrue to the party if his colleagues would reverse themselves and vote "only a few million dollars" for a federal "rat control" program for the big cities. Ashbrook's GOP colleagues almost dropped their sliverware as he fixed the Republican leader with a stare and said, "Spoken like a true whore."

But more often than not, Rep. Ashbrook has been a leader, especially in national conservative politics.

Preoccupied with his own first race for Congress in 1960, Ashbrook soon returned to the national GOP scene in 1962 as one of the original and most active members of F. Clifton White's "Draft Goldwater Committee." Only days before the 1964 election, he met with William F. Buckley Jr., Bill Rusher, L. Brent Bozell, Frank S. Meyer, the late Rep. Donald C. Bruce of Indiana, and others in a West 37th Street brownstone in New York City owned by the Buckley family. On the Saturday afternoon before the GOP suffered its greatest electoral defeat in history, the American Conservative Union was born. In December 1964, ACU was formally launched in Washington at a meeting attended by many conservative leaders.

From the first, Ashbrook, who became ACU national chairman in 1965, has regarded the organization as the conservative counterpart to Americans for Democratic Action. He has recruited its national membership (now around 15,000) with evangelic zeal, preaching organization and the dissemination of conservative ideas and programs.

As ACU national chairman, Ashbrook takes special interest in its monthly publication, *Battle Line*, which gives a conservative view of national, state and local political developments. He has also supported a broad program of ACU publications designed to zero in on current topics. Ashbrook is now encouraging a stepped-up drive to expand ACU political action and he cherishes the goal of a "conservative national headquarters" in Washington designed to promote unity among responsible conservative groups, publications and individuals.

The congressman also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations) and has been very active as a member of the Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom. On keeping up with political news, Ashbrook says, "Whenever someone out in the boondocks asks me what's going on in Washington, I just ask, 'Don't you read *Human Events*?'" He estimates that he has every book offered by the Conservative Book Club, which he also serves as an adviser. At the moment he's thinking of writing a book himself, if he can ever find the time.

Ashbrook on Nixon

John Ashbrook first met Richard Nixon when the latter was vice president. "I have always felt, both as a conservative and a student of communism, that Richard Nixon was admirably equipped to act decisively in the best interests of the United States," Ashbrook said last June.

His basic respect for Nixon has not changed. He feels the greatest asset the President has is his image of respectability and calm purpose, welcomed by Americans after the "wheeler-dealer" era of Lyndon Johnson.

But the Ohio Republican is frankly unhappy about the course taken by President Nixon since his inauguration.

As the 1968 Republican National Convention approached, Rep. Ashbrook fought against Gov. Rhodes for a seat as a delegate from Ohio. At the Miami convention, he was responsible for the only two Ohio votes cast for Nixon's nomination.

Though he said he could easily have supported Gov. Ronald Reagan, Ashbrook stuck with Nixon. He correctly concluded that Gov. Rhodes was maintaining the "favorite son" hold over Ohio's delegates as a favor to New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

Continued on page 20

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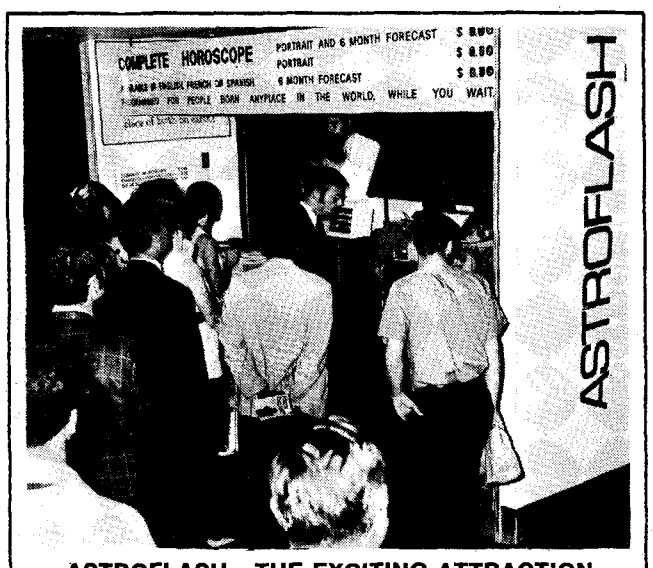

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'Black' Federal Budget Figures Are Really Red

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The budget director was happy to report that the government would operate with a surplus of $6 billion in the fiscal year ending next June 30.

"That's great news," commented Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.). "If we keep that up, we can pay off the entire national debt of $361 billion in 60 years."

Well, no, not exactly, the budget director said. The figures he was using included trust funds and in this current year there would be no surplus in the general operating funds of the government.

On that basis, there would not even be a balanced budget, he confessed, but a deficit. Curtis made some hasty calculations.

"If we operate on the same basis for the next 60 years," he announced, "instead of wiping out the national debt, it will have increased from $361 billion to $618 billion."

Why are the American people not being told the truth about the national budget? Why are they being deceived with reports indicating that the government is living within its income?

The answer, of course, is that no Administration likes to admit that red ink colors its fiscal accounting. Citizens, paying ever-higher taxes, become puzzled and disturbed.

Always intent upon keeping the people happy, President Johnson, as one of his last gifts to national euphoria, inaugurated a new system of budget reporting. President Nixon, thus far, hasn't had much choice but to go along.

Known as the "consolidated budget," the new system permits trust fund receipts and expenditures such as Social Security taxes and disbursements to be combined with the government's regular income and outgo. Since these trust funds thus far show big annual surpluses, Johnson's last budget was converted from one $5.3 billion in the red to one $3.1 billion in the black.

Such surpluses, however, depend on borrowing from the trust funds. The national debt, in the same fiscal year for which a $3.1-billion surplus was reported, rose $13 billion.

Curtis and Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.), another authority on taxes and spending, have now joined in sponsorship of legislation designed to strip the fiction from budget reporting.

Trust funds, they noted, are not supposed to be available for the general operation of the government. They are dedicated to special purposes. A businessman, dipping into a trust fund for his own ends, would go to jail.

Under the Curtis-Williams proposal, the executive branch would return to the former system, known as the "administrative budget." It would clearly show whether the general treasury was operating in balance, with a surplus or a deficit. Under this system, the Nixon Administration's latest tentative estimate of a $5.9-billion surplus for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, would vanish.

"If we are to avoid chaos and confusion, the budget must exclude trust funds," Curtis said. "How can we tell taxpayers that a surtax is necessary if they are officially informed that we had a surplus of $3 billion last year and are going to have another one of $6 billion? How can we work for economy in government when there is the pretense of a surplus?"

In these days of "truth in lending" and "truth in packaging" legislation, this reasoning for a return to "truth in budgeting" seems unassailable.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Thant Makes Report

U.N. Finances Are 'Precarious'

From the Arizona *Republic*

United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, in his annual report on the work of the world organization, states frankly that the U.N.'s financial situation "remains precarious" and is "a matter of serious concern." In non-bureaucratic language, this means that the U.N. is nearly bankrupt. The figures which the secretary-general reveals tell the story.

***Unpaid assessed contributions* of member states were about $130 million as of this summer. Of this amount, $27 million are owed by states which simply say they have no intention of paying, because they do not approve of the way the money is being spent.**

These are mostly Communist states, which refuse to pay for certain U.N. peace-keeping operations they do not like. The U.N. has not in the past taken any serious measures to demand payment from non-paying member states. There is little likelihood that this will be done in the future. Secretary-General U Thant says most of these amounts are "virtually uncollectable."

But U Thant has also revealed that the accumulated total of all these uncollectable sums in the past few years has now reached $133 million. This includes money spent years ago for the U.N. operations in the Congo. In addition, very few member states seem to bother to pay their assessed contributions toward such projects as the U.S. Emergency Force in the Middle East, or the U.N. Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. The Cyprus operation alone has a deficit of $11 million.

Yet in spite of these huge deficits, the U.N. keeps on increasing its budget as well as its worldwide operations. The so-called "regular budget" now reaches nearly $200 million a year, but it does not cover all the money the U.N. is spending.

There are special budgets for several U.N. autonomous organizations. The most expensive of these is the U.N.'s own foreign aid program, which goes by the name of the Economic and Social Development Fund. According to U Thant's figures, the U.N. foreign aid program last year maintained more than 8,000 specialists in over 130 developing countries.

Since 1959 nearly $1.7 billion or, on the average, $170 million a year has been committed to U.S. technical assistance projects all over the world. This year's budget of the U.N. foreign aid program stands at $200 million, but $250 million is pledged for 1970.

We do not doubt that some of these U.N. foreign aid projects might be useful to the countries concerned. But we strongly doubt the wisdom of the U.N. getting into the foreign aid business. The United States, France, West Germany, Britain and several other Western states maintain their own extensive foreign aid programs, which greatly assist many developing nations. Why should the U.N. compete with these well-established national foreign aid programs of the West?

Since the end of World War II, the United States alone has spent nearly $200 billion in various foreign aid programs which have offered lavish assistance to nearly all the nations around the globe. The United States also pays for at least half of the total expenses of the United Nations. If the U.S. foreign aid program is any good, why should the American taxpayer subsidize, in addition, an expensive U.N. foreign aid program?

BOOK NOTES

These books, while not necessarily written from a conservative standpoint, are nevertheless books we regard as politically significant and of possible interest to many of our readers. Generally they may be purchased at your local bookstore, either from current stock or by special order.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BOULWARISM by Lemuel R. Boulware (Bureau of National Affairs, 180 pages, $7.50)

"Lemuel R. Boulware, for 14 years vice president of General Electric for employe and community relations . . . describes the problem confronting the corporation posed by the serious and progressive deterioration of its position in relations with employes, unions and the communities in which it operated. . . .

"Under the new strategy General Electric took the initiative in bargaining by making a well-researched and carefully studied analysis of union demands, the economic factors and employe expectations, and at an appropriate time in the negotiations making a complete offer, which, unless revised by new facts or considerations, stood as the company's proposed terms of the final settlement.

"In his treatment of collective bargaining, Mr. Boulware effectively exposes 'exaggerations' characteristic of union negotiations such as 'productivity increases,' the 'ability to pay' argument, the union security issue, and the union position that any final settlement must at least appear to have been forced from a reluctant employer. . . .

"The major lesson that stands out from this able account of General Electric's experience is that despite today's adverse legislative and political climate and the dominant collective bargaining power of the labor unions, employers, if they have the vision and courage, can do more than they are doing to help themselves. . . ."—By Carroll E. French in **NAM Reports**

SO YOU WANT TO BE A LIBERAL? by Dr. Ernst Angst, special introduction by Victor Gold (Arlington House, 127 pages, $4.95.)

"For many years our high-riding liberals have had a field day making fun of conservatives. Generally, responsible conservatives have taken this in good spirit, some of their leaders possessing that which many liberal leaders lack—an ability to laugh at themselves. . . .

"Now the tables are beginning to turn and it will be interesting to see whether the liberals can take it as well as dish it out. They have their chance with this hilariously funny book by Dr. Ernst Angst, whom we suspect is Washington publicist Victor Gold in disguise.

"Disguise or not, Dr. Angst-Gold or Gold-Angst has the liberal patois down to the last crossed 't' and dotted 'i.' He calls his guide 'The Do-It-Yourself Primer for Those Who Want to Do-It-for-Others. . . .'"

". . . you will chuckle mirthfully, grimly, sardonically or happily over many of his observations. To add to the merriment, about half the book is made up of most intriguing drawings or cartoons to illustrate Dr. Angst's telling point. . . ."—By Rosalie Gordon in **America's Future**

WINNING'S A LOT MORE FUN by Stephen Shadegg (Macmillan, $6.95)

Mr. Shadegg, who wrote "What Happened to Goldwater" after the 1964 campaign, has now produced a rather thorough account of the 1968 race—on both the Democratic and Republican sides. While there is very little new information in the book for those who follow politics closely, many persons may well find it valuable to have so many political and personal details, starting with the earliest pre-primary jockeying, gathered together in one volume.

THE MAN FROM MONTICELLO: An Intimate Life of Thomas Jefferson by Thomas Fleming (Morrow, 409 pages, $10.)

"It is one of the virtues of partisan biography at its best—and Mr. Fleming's is a splendid example of the kind—that some of the author's own passion rubs off on the reader.

"When the subject is as great as Thomas Jefferson and the circumstances as glittering as the American Revolution and the founding of the Republic, the results are high drama. Destiny is challenged, obstacles overcome, villainy conquered. Above all, the hero endures: the death of kin, the alienation of friends, public vituperation, distress and loss.

"The author warns what he is about in the subtitle. What we have is a personal portrait drawn from inside the home: Jefferson as wooer, husband, parent, grandfather, squire of Monticello and bibliophile—a man of the widest intellectual interests and skills, and of a Cato-like integrity and morality."—By Thomas Lask in the New York **Times**

THE SELLING OF THE PRESIDENT 1968 by Joe McGinniss (Trident, 253 pages, $5.95)

"This is newspaperman McGinniss' first book, and it's a lulu. It's about the making of a TV image for Richard M. Nixon once he made it at Miami—a perfect professional image, nothing left to chance, boys from the J. Walter Thompson ad agency brought in and told to shoot the works. The project image was sold **so** perfectly that after months of the pitch voters got bored. Early on, McGinnis informally joined the Nixon group, worked round the clock for months with the fellows assigned to create the image—lads like Frank Shakespeare, Harry Treleaven, Len Garment. RMN **wanted** himself sold via the boob-tube; after all, he lost it all to JFK in 1960 via the same route, and was determined to recoup. Make no mistake, this is a helluva book; it stays right on target, reporting every belch and four-letter word behind the scenes, reprinting actual shooting scripts of the filmed commercials."

—From **Publisher's Weekly**

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Soviets Accelerate Military Buildup

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

Soviet Russia's military buildup has moved into high gear.

This is the unmistakable conclusion being reached by Kremlin-watchers on Capitol Hill and in the government's executive department. Based on developments which have come to light in the past few days, this conclusion affords powerful evidence to support some contentions that the Soviets are not in the least bit interested in any kind of international arms control at the present time.

Characteristically, this new military spurt has been so piecemeal that it is almost indiscernible.

Perhaps the most important development was the one reported by the highly respected Institute for Strategic Studies in London which disclosed that Russia has reached parity with the United States in intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMS) and is moving into the lead in the nuclear arms race.

Other recent developments include the following:

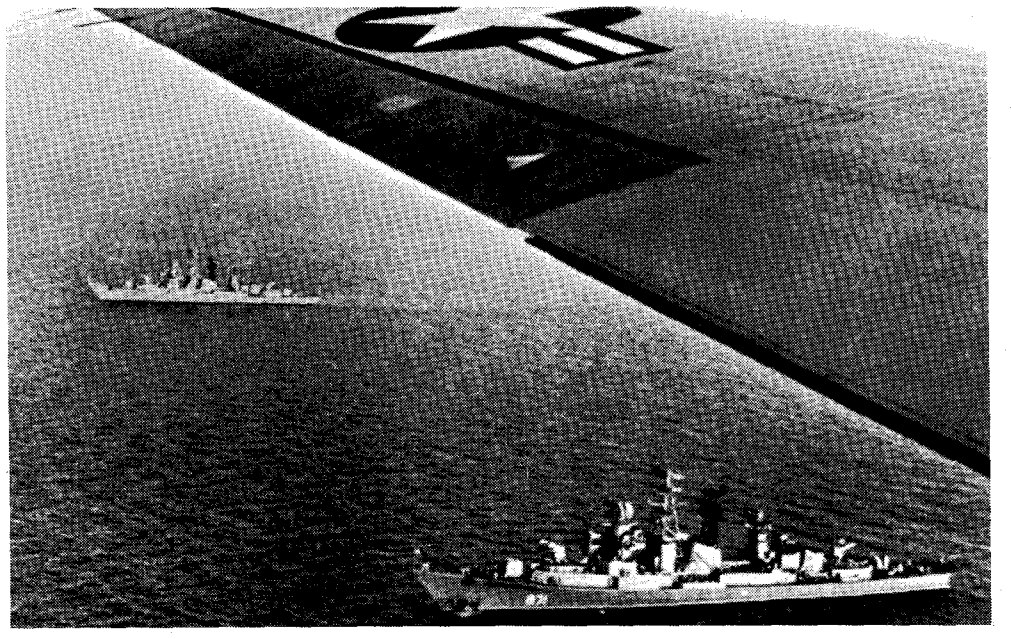
• The disclosure by the Soviet news agency Tass that the Soviet Union has resumed testing its space bomb delivery system known as FOBS (fractional orbital bombardment system).

• An announcement by spokesmen for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Naples that Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean now is so powerful that its ships outnumber those of the U.S. 6th Fleet. The NATO sources said the Soviets now have 65 ships, including 20 destroyers and other combat vessels, in the area. They also have 10 submarines and an estimated 35 auxiliary and support ships. Included in the Russian fleet is the highly vaunted missile cruiser and helicopter carrier, the *Moskva*.

• Disclosure by the British institute that the number of Russian combat planes and tanks in the Middle East now exceeds 1967 levels. Egypt and Syria received the largest number of Soviet medium tanks and at least 50 of the modern SU-7 close support fighter bomber planes.

• A published estimate by the institute that Russians have the capacity to develop their own MIRVs (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles) and are conducting tests to this end.

The ICBM report said that by the end of 1969 Russia will have deployed 100 more of the nuclear delivery vehicles than the United States. This more or less confirmed unofficial but authoritative information available to U.S. officials for several months.



A view from a U.S. Navy transport plane of two Russian guided missile destroyers escorting the 18,000-ton Soviet helicopter carrier Moskva.

With regard to FOBS, American military experts believe that an orbital bomb system, when perfected, would permit the Soviets to get in a sneak shot at this continent by flying out of sight of the radar guarding our northern approaches.

A FOBS space bomb, for example, might be able to enter America's back door by flying around the world and approaching from the south. The space vehicle so low in the air is difficult to spot by radar. It is estimated that this method could reduce the warning time available to us to only a few minutes.

The United States and Russia, of course, have agreed by treaty not to put bombs in orbit. However, the Soviets have availed themselves of a technicality by pointing out that there is nothing to prevent testing of bomb-delivery systems. Another technicality has been to limit the testing of their orbital bomb system to a distance short of a full orbit. Thus, the word "fractional" in the FOBS title presumably relieves them of the treaty restrictions.

Interestingly, one left-wing press statement in this country described the latest orbital bomb testing as "Russia's answer to the U.S. go-ahead on the ABM."

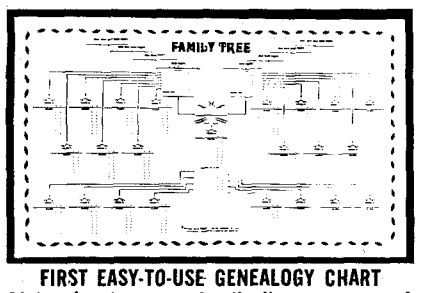
These sources conveniently omit two salient facts: (1) That the Russians are five years ahead of us in deploying an ABM system, and (2) that the Russians did not react at all to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's action several weeks ago in canceling this country's Manned Orbital Laboratory (MOL) project.

Any reasonable observer would have concluded that an adversary who truly was seeking to co-operate in the matter of nuclear weapons control would have taken note of the MOL cancellation and used this as a reason for canceling any future testing of an orbital bomb system.

Again this proves that the Soviets are going to follow their own play for world conquest and continue their far-flung buildup of all military systems—land, sea, air and space—regardless of what we do about a skeleton-type missile defense.

(Copyright 1969 Los Angeles *Times*)

FAMILY TREE CHART



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State Senator Works as Grape Picker

First-Hand Experience Refutes Chavez Charges

For years now liberal politicians have been holding cocktail parties on Long Island lawns and flying government jets to California to publicize their support for Cesar Chavez' tireless effort to unionize the Golden State's grape pickers. They have also joined a nationwide campaign to boycott grapes to compel the growers to accept unionization.

Three weeks ago California State Sen. John L. Harmer decided that while the liberals' tactics might be fun, they failed to answer the crucial question concerning the *huelga*; namely, did the workers *want* to be unionized and was it necessary for their well being?

The Republican lawmaker decided that the best way to find out was to become a grape picker himself. Donning the clothes of a field hand, Harmer elected to work at the Pandol Vineyard in the San Joaquin valley, primarily because it is typical of the area and has average working conditions.

To insure that he did not receive special treatment, the senator's identity, although known to the vineyard owners, was kept from his supervisors and fellow workers. Then for four days Harmer worked, ate, slept and was picketed by Chavez' crew.

Harmer's conclusion: The workers are not suffering and have no desire to team up with Chavez. "It was hard work," Harmer readily acknowledged, "and I am stiff and sore, but I felt I had proved my point."

The $3-an-hour pay is good, Harmer challenged, noting that a family of four, working as a team, can make $100 a day. "The conditions under which the migrant workers live and the money they earn," he said, "would allow me to send my own son to do as I have done, and I could feel perfectly assured that he would be eating and sleeping in comfortable conditions and earning good money." Concerning the much-disputed food—half of which is paid for by the grower—the senator noted that the menu was selected by the workers themselves.

Another matter of concern to Harmer was the allegation by boycott proponents that dangerous pesticides are being used on the grapes. "I found this to be completely without a basis in fact," said the senator. "After talking with employes and the suppliers of the pesticides, there is no doubt in my mind that no basis exists for criticizing the growers for the use of any pesticides which have not been approved as safe for both worker and consumer by the federal Food and Drug Administration and by the California State Department of Agriculture."

Regarding the Chavez strike itself, which is now dragging into its fifth year, Harmer observed that the workers take great pride in their work and exhibit little interest in unionization. "They fear the union," the legislator contended, "because the workers they know who are employed by growers that have signed with the union are extremely unhappy. . . . The workers despise the union organizers because of the violence and heartless destruction of the workers' personal property—primarily automobiles—by the union people."

California State Sen. John L. Harmer concealed his identity from co-workers and picked grapes for four days to get the inside story on working conditions.

Sen. Harmer's experience is a setback for Chavez. Harmer has come out in support of legislation to "protect the workers from the irresponsible and dangerous boycott leaders," such as that recently introduced on Capitol Hill by Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), and next year Harmer intends to use his position on the California Senate Labor and Social Welfare Committee to try to put a stop to the boycott.

The grape pickers' working conditions, pay (often $25 a day), and food were all found to be at least adequate by Sen. Harmer (right).

Damaging Job 'Help'

From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*

A psychologist has articulated some views on job training for slum youths that his fellow psychologists—real and fancied—would do well to ponder.

Kenneth B. Clark, president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., argues that "American business is the last hope of any serious, realistic, hard-nosed attempt to change the predicament of life in American slums."

Clark takes this position because he believes "businessmen are clear about their goals. They are usually unsentimental about their concern for profits and productivity. Even racial discrimination may fall victim to their single-minded search for efficiency and economic viability."

But it is in his insight into the psychology of the other side of the matter—his views on job training from the standpoint of the slum youths—that Clark brings some sense to what has been awash in sentimentalism.

Clark, whose views are presented in the *Monthly Labor Review* and the *Wall Street Journal,* comes right out with it.

"Industry must demonstrate its seriousness by not accepting from the Negro youngsters any lower level of academic performance than is expected from white youngsters, at the same time that it takes into account the fact that the public education of Negro youngsters has made them inferior in certain academic areas, a deficit which business can make up for by its on-the-job-training.

"It must demonstrate its seriousness by requiring and obtaining from the Negro youngsters precisely the same standards of manner, style, dress, punctuality that it requires from others of whatever level of job.

"Seemingly compassionate programs of employment of Negroes which permit special standards for the Negro lower than those for whites are a perpetuation of racism—such double standards are interpreted by Negroes as condescension and will be exploited by them."

Clark urges businesses not to follow the pattern of the sloppy, sentimentalistic good intentions of educators to reduce standards in the education of low-income and minority group children.

"Such youngsters," says Clark, "will accept only evidence of respect for their humanity, their capacity as human beings, their ability to learn the way people learn, their ability to perform with the same standards by which other people's performances are evaluated. And in respecting these, business will be giving not verbal, but genuine acceptance of them as human beings."

Some Questions Arise

Nixon on Social Security

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The most unusual part of President Nixon's Social Security program is the proposal to tie both taxes and benefits to the cost of living. Mr. Nixon has been urging such a change for some time on the ground that it would take Social Security out of politics and would keep inflation from getting ahead of pensions.

Under Mr. Nixon's program, the benefits would be adjusted at least once a year but would never go down, even if the cost of living were to do so. The taxes would be adjusted by movements in the taxable age base, which is now $7,800 and which Mr. Nixon would raise to $9,000, effective in 1972.

The plan looks good enough on paper, but we're not at all sure that future Congresses would refrain from tinkering with as succulent a political matter as Social Security. In the past, it has pushed Social Security benefits up considerably faster than the cost of living, and there is no reason to think the pressure will stop.

Nor do we share Mr. Nixon's confidence that an elastic Social Security system would not become a contributing factor in the mechanism of inflation. There is evidence that this has happened in industry, where an increase in wages—even if it results from an over-all increase in the cost of living—can still push up a company's costs and prices and thus start the cycle over again.

The rest of Mr. Nixon's program follows a familiar pattern: an early and substantial increase in benefits, with an abundance of fanfare, and a delayed increase in taxes, with much less said about it.

The 10 per cent increase in benefits, effective next March 1, is not out of line considering that the cost of living will have gone up at least that much since Mr. Johnson's 13 per cent increase of March 1968. And one refreshing thing about it is that it is not loaded in favor of those who have paid little in taxes. In the past there has been a tendency to forget that Social Security was designed as "insurance" and to convert it into a mechanism for sharing the wealth.

A second sensible part of the Nixon package would further ease the penalty on pensioners who take paying jobs. They would be permitted to earn more without forfeiting the pension which, theoretically, they have already paid for.

A second source of concern, on the other hand, is the matter of revenues. Mr. Nixon's increase in the taxable wage base would be offset by a reduction in the scheduled increases in the tax rate. This means that revenues (leaving aside the cost-of-living factor, which would affect both revenues and expenses) would not rise much faster than presently scheduled until 1975—a fact which is hard to reconcile with the 10 per cent increase in benefits proposed for next year.

This is of particular concern because the budgetary surplus, which Mr. Nixon is counting on to help slow inflation, depends wholly on the surplus in the Social Security accounts. Using this surplus to raise benefits, as the Nixon plan would do, might put his budget in the red even without the income tax reductions passed by the House. Mr. Nixon's program may be better than most, but it still contains more wishful thinking than we care to indulge in. The best cure for the ills of Social Security is to stop inflation.

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Old Liberal Snow Job

Who Is the Real Robert Williams?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

If you listen carefully these days, with an ear cocked to the liberal press, you will hear the unmistakable slosh-slosh sound of whitewash being mixed. Robert F. Williams, the black revolutionary, is about to get two coats of respectability and a top coat of hokum. By the time the job is done, he will emerge as a born-again statesman, pure as the driven snow.

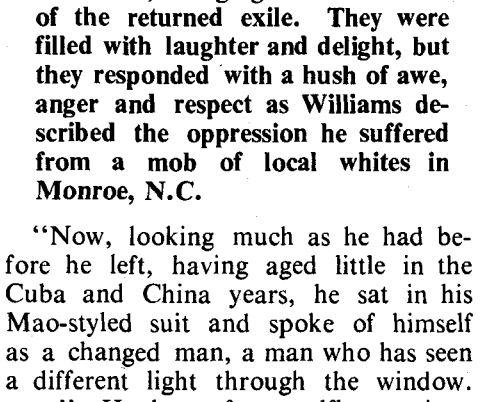
The tip-off came a couple of weeks ago in a lyrical interview carried on page one of the Washington *Post*. The story began by identifying Williams as the North Carolina Negro who fled from the United States eight years ago in the face of a kidnaping charge. Why had he returned? "I felt it my duty to come back."

The interview took place in a neat ranch house in an integrated suburb of Detroit. Williams' family and close friends sat around the room, hanging on each word of the returned exile. They were filled with laughter and delight, but they responded with a hush of awe, anger and respect as Williams described the oppression he suffered from a mob of local whites in Monroe, N.C.

"Now, looking much as he had before he left, having aged little in the Cuba and China years, he sat in his Mao-styled suit and spoke of himself as a changed man, a man who has seen a different light through the window. . . ." He longs for a selfless society, composed of selfless men. If his people want him, he will be at their service. He is looking for progress. He wants to change men as well as systems. Taking gentle exception to the emotional appeals of some black nationalists, Williams said: "I've learned that we have to be less emotional about this thing. . . ."

The *Post*'s 1,500-word account, to put the matter mildly, was what is known in tougher city rooms as a bucket of mush. It was the old snow job. A backward look may be useful.

On the evening of Sunday, Aug. 27, 1961, the town of Monroe was gripped in racial disorders. By happenstance, a rural couple, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, drove into the riot area.



Williams sported a Mao-style suit on his return to the United States.

On the following day, the New York *Times* reported:

"Mrs. Stegall told newsmen she and her husband had been forced from their car at gunpoint, taken to the Williams home, and bound back to back with tape from a Venetian blind. Williams, she said, had called Chief A. A. Mauney of the Monroe police and told him that if those in jail were not released the Stegalls 'will be killed or sacrificed or done away with' within 30 minutes."

Williams fled the country that night. Two days later, in a search of the Williams home, police found 56 sticks of dynamite, a large-caliber Japanese rifle and nine steel helmets. Williams wound up in Cuba, traveled on to Red China, later appeared in Tanazania. By his own description of the Monroe incident, "we had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes," but his guerrillas lacked "extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us."

From Cuba, Williams published a newsletter, "The Crusader." In his issue for May-June, 1964, he wrote of the weapons to be used by Afro-Americans in revolt: "Gasoline fire bombs, lye or acid bombs [made by injecting lye in the metal and of light bulbs] can be used extensively. . . . Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. . . .

"Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. . . . Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High-powered sniper rifles are readily available. . . ."

Once in China, Williams flooded the U.S. with pamphlets urging Negroes not to fight in Viet Nam. If they were sent there, "they should eliminate as many of their real enemies [white Americans] as they can at the front, so that these racists will not be able to return home."

This is the gentle fellow of the *Post*'s adulation. Will the real Robert Williams stand up?

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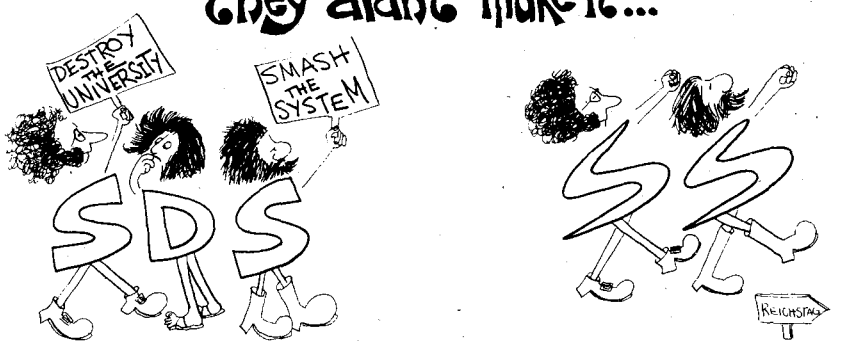

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ON REVOLUTION:

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ON DEMOCRACY:

"The fact that opposition parties and criticism of socialism and the Party are not allowed in Cuba 'does not necessarily mean that Cuba is undemocratic . . . It just does not allow counter-revolution as a political possibility.'"—Mark Rudd, SDS (Columbia *Spectator*, April 11, 1968)

ON FREE SPEECH

"Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace do not deserve free speech."—Steve Halliwell, SDS, from his speech at the Washington Press Club, October 29, 1968

ON MANUFACTURING ISSUES:

"Let me tell you. We manufactured the issues. The Institute for Defense Analysis is nothing at Columbia. Just three professors. And the gym issue is bull. It doesn't mean anything to anybody."—Mark Rudd, SDS (Boston *Globe*, October 1, 1968)

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"We seek constructive change. The SDS is on a violence kick that will eventually only hinder the possibility for real change. Their lauded campus violence has only made it more difficult to express opposition or seek serious change on the campuses."—**Ron Dear**, YAF

"SDS and company bitch about conditions, but they have no program except the total destruction of the system. We not only have a program but a goal: individual freedom from totalitarianism and collectivism."—**Barbara Turner**, YAF

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About YAF

Young Americans for Freedom was founded in 1960 at Sharon, Conn. Since then it has grown from a handful of students to over 51,100 members in 500 chapters in every state. YAF is philosophically motivated and action-oriented. It carries out educational and activist programs at colleges and high schools, as well as in the community. YAF believes in individual, religious, political and economic freedom—and the responsibility that goes with protecting and promoting these freedoms.

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Continued from Page 14

John Ashbrook of Ohio

(Rockefeller later acknowledged this, praising Rhodes for being "solid as a rock.")

Also, Ashbrook was convinced that Nixon would indeed bring about a real change in Washington. With Gov. Reagan unable to break Nixon's Southern support, and lagging in delegate strength, Ashbrook cast his vote for Nixon's nomination.

Perhaps Ashbrook expected too much from Richard Nixon. Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Ashbrook's friend and 1964 hero, answered Republican complaints earlier this year, saying: ". . . Dick Nixon hasn't changed any since 1952 or '53. Anyone who supported him thinking he was as conservative as I am is mistaken. But he's a hell of a lot more conservative than Hubert Humphrey or Ted Kennedy."

But that relative standard for political conservatism is not enough for John Ashbrook. He clings to the increasingly rare notion that when a man makes a promise, he will fulfill it.

A Few Disappointments

In March of this year Rep. Ashbrook first admitted his public disappointment with the President. He told *Newsday* reporter Joseph Albert: "The average conservative is upset about President Nixon's failure, so far, to clean out the State Department. We have a right to expect better performance from a man we elected. He needs the people he is alienating right now, because the liberals won't be with him in 1970 and 1972." A few days later Rep. Ashbrook told the President the same thing personally at a private White House meeting.

Things have not been all bad since the Nixon Administration took over in Washington, Ashbrook readily admits. He has publicly praised the President's nominations of Warren Burger and Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court, and was pleased that Nixon did not back down on the ABM. But still he is seriously concerned about the trend of this Administration and, as a national conservative leader, has used his access to the White House to privately make his views known.

Ashbrook has been especially critical of the Nixon Administration's appointees and policies when he thought principles were involved. He voted against the President's request for an extension of the 10 per cent tax surcharge, saying that "no meaningful effort has been made to cut spending . . . a vote to extend the surtax is irresponsible—it merely assures the spenders that the money will be there to continue business as usual." Ashbrook added: "I will support the President steadfastly in his efforts to bring about the changes he promised the American people. I will just as vigorously oppose him when he goes in the opposite direction."

Two days before Nixon left for his June meeting with President Thieu of South Viet Nam, Ashbrook publicly called for Nixon to reaffirm his past pledges to avoid any coalition government which would include the Communists. After the Midway Island meeting it was Ashbrook's judgment that "the President is mistaken in his appraisal of the basic intentions of the Communists regarding this war. So far President Nixon's words about the Viet Nam war can give little comfort to those fervently wishing for an extension of freedom everywhere."

Ashbrook's own views on Viet Nam stated in early August are unequivocal: "If the Paris peace talks are abandoned or reach a hopeless stalemate, I would sharply intensify the war effort without major troop commitment. We have a legitimate reason for halting this advance of communism. Unilateral withdrawal would signify our unwillingness to challenge the Soviet Union's aggressive plans for world domination."

Changes Are Needed

On the floor of the House of Representatives on July 1 he said, "A coalition government in Viet Nam may be just around the corner in one form or another . . . if that is what the White House wants . . . count me out."

Rep. Ashbrook was also disturbed by President Nixon's July 11 "Captive Nations Resolution," which is supposed to be an annual restatement of American determination to restore freedom to Communist-dominated nations. Ashbrook inserted in the *Record* the Nixon resolution (which failed to mention communism) side-by-side with the 1959 resolution proclaimed by President Eisenhower which was a stinging rebuke to the Reds. Ashbrook called Nixon's captive nations statement "frustratingly inane and perfunctory."

He added: "After waiting six months I have seen no basic change in our State Department or our foreign policy. We were promised a change. As a loyal Nixon supporter I told people there would be a change and I will not be satisfied until there is a change."

Perhaps most disturbing of all to John Ashbrook are certain major aspects of President Nixon's welfare reform proposals. Two years ago Ashbrook called for many of the same reforms, including work training for the unemployed.

But Ashbrook coupled his call with support for tax credits to encourage the establishment by industry and businesses of job training programs aimed at hiring the unemployed. Nixon campaigned on the same platform of "volunteerism" during 1968, but it bothers Ashbrook that Nixon seems to have forgotten his devotion to this principle of involving the "private sector."

Critical of Welfare Plan

Eighteen months ago Ashbrook warned against GOP support for the principle of a "guaranteed annual income." Many political writers have termed this a central concept of the President's new welfare plan. To Ashbrook, such a concept is GOP heresy. "The only way our system can work," Ashbrook said in 1967, is "to encourage everybody to take care of themselves. For the government to embark on a policy to take care of everybody would be disastrous."

Ashbrook was one of a group of about 35 House Republicans who personally complained to the White House about the Nixon welfare plans before they were revealed. Their opposition, at first ignored, produced only conservative-sounding changes in the President's televised speech, but no change in his actual proposals.

Whatever his current differences with the President, Rep. Ashbrook clearly believes there is hope for more conservative Nixon policies in the future. Appearing on the Metromedia television show, "Evans-Novak Report" on September 7, Ashbrook did not hesitate to criticize the Nixon Administration and its policies (he even called for the resignation of HEW Secretary Robert Finch). But the Ohio conservative leader stated emphatically that he did not regret his 1968 support for Nixon's nomination and election.

Accustomed to evasive Washington politicians, columnist Bob Novak commented at the end of the TV show, "Whatever you may say about John Ashbrook, he certainly is no 'trimmer' when it comes to speaking his mind on the issues."

Increasingly in demand because of his leadership of conservatives, Rep. Ashbrook is getting notice from the press and the communications media. A few weeks ago on the Chicago CBS-TV talk show, "At Random," Ashbrook was battering the New Left, which was represented on the panel by a Black Panther "defense minister," and draft resister Mark Rudd of Columbia University and Students for a Democratic Society fame.

When the sloppily dressed SDS leader shouted that Ashbrook was "a typical representative of the exploiting capitalist class" and demanded he give the details of his personal finances, Ashbrook shot back, "I'll be glad to explain my finances if you'll tell me the last time you were high on drugs." Rudd, his eyes red and slightly glazed, abruptly shut up.

Plans for 1970

At 41, John Ashbrook is still a young man in politics. What's next after 10 years in the House? Ashbrook told the Newark, Ohio, *Advocate* that in 1970 he will run either for governor or for U.S. senator from Ohio. Later he revealed to reporter Abe Zaidan of the Akron *Beacon-Journal* that he was considering the formation of a full "conservative ticket" to run in the 1970 Ohio Republican primary. Ashbrook told Zaidan that he believed the people of Ohio are fed up "with the game of musical chairs going on in Columbus," a reference to Gov. Rhodes' past control of statewide GOP nominees.

Rhodes, barred by law from a third term, has his own eye on the U.S. Senate seat now held by 81-year-old Democrat Stephen Young. In a few weeks Rhodes is expected to attempt to make a full public explanation of income tax irregularities charged by *Life* magazine. A supposedly secret conference of the governor and his political advisers will then decide whether he should run for the Senate.

Rep. Robert Taft Jr. of Cincinnati, defeated by Young for the Senate in 1964, has also indicated an interest in running for the Senate, or possibly trying to succeed Rhodes in Columbus. Meanwhile, young Congressman Donald (Buz) Lukens already is sporting an "All-Ohio Draft Lukens for Senate Committee' and makes no secret of his availability.

On the Democratic side, the popular Frank Lausche has admitted in the last few weeks that he is considering a race for governor even though he is 78 years old. (Lausche served as governor for 10 years prior to his two Senate terms, ended by defeat in the 1968 Ohio Democratic primary.) Also in the Democratic wings is ex-astronaut and Kennedy family friend John Glenn, who has been making noises about a race for Sen. Young's seat.

Possible Chairmanship

Where John Ashbrook fits into this picture is still an open question. Close friends and political supporters will tell you he is—and he isn't—going to run for senator, or governor. When Rep. Lukens informed Ashbrook that he was planning to make the Senate race, Ashbrook thanked Lukens for the courtesy of telling him before publicly announcing, but gave Lukens no assurance that he would not also enter the fray.

Meanwhile, as Columbus *Dispatch* reporter George Embry noted, he has been "providing much of the steam for the regular Republican movement" in the House, a sort of "conservative caucus" which has been spurred into action by its concern over President Nixon's liberal moves.

Should Rep. Ashbrook decide to stay in the House, a 1970 Republican House majority would elevate him to the chairmanship of the Internal Security Committee, a possibility he views with a relish as great as the horror it strikes in the hearts of liberals.

Staying in the House should not be too hard a job. In 1965, when a "John Ashbrook Testimonial Rally" was held at Ashland College, the gymnasium was filled with 3,000 supporters, and another 3,000 had standing room only. The crowd included busloads of young Ashbrook supporters from as far away as Cleveland and Cincinnati. The list of speakers included William F. Buckley Jr., Ronald Reagan of California; Ohio's former governor, Judge William O'Neill; and a good many Republican notables from all parts of the state.

Since then, Ashbrook has been twice re-elected to Congress with comfortable margins. A recent poll taken at the Knox County Fair (in the heart of his 17th district) showed that no less than 80.3 per cent of those asked thought Ashbrook was doing a good job in Congress. The same poll showed Ashbrook leading nine other contenders, including Bob Taft Jr., by more than 2 to 1 as the preferred GOP candidate for governor. Ashbrook also led the field as the most popular GOP candidate for U.S. Senate. Similar polls and even private surveys by the Ohio GOP have shown him running surprisingly well for both spots on the ticket outside his district as well.

Ashbrook has no pretensions about holding public office. He loves to tell the story about a little old lady he encountered at a busy intersection in one of the large towns in his district during his 1966 campaign. She was obviously having difficulty in crossing the street and the congressman assisted her to the other side.

She thanked him profusely and his response was that the best thanks she could give him would be a vote for him, since he was running for Congress. "Thank heavens such a nice man as you is running," beamed the little old lady, "because that fellow we've got in there now is sure no good."

Philosophy for the Future

John Ashbrook could probably remain in the House of Representatives as long as he has the desire to serve. His friends say the young legislator has already established a life-long pattern of accomplishing whatever goals he seeks. "When John thinks the time is right," they insist, "he will move with all the precision and passion which has always marked his political career."

Whatever lies in his future, nothing could have served as a better summation of the things John Ashbrook has fought for and against than a small incident that occurred in February 1968.

Under orders from Gov. Rhodes, the Ohio Republican State Central Committee adopted a resolution binding all delegates to the GOP national convention to support Rhodes' favorite son candidacy. John Ashbrook, a Nixon supporter, could hardly go along with this.

He rose to plead with his fellow Republicans (many of whom privately shared his views) to allow at least some of the Ohio delegates "to be guided by their consciences rather than being dictated to by bosses in a smoke-filled room." Replied Wayne County GOP Chairman Marion Craven, in a political aphorism which will long outlive the man who uttered it, "Conscience is for church people, not for politicians."

John Milan Ashbrook of Ohio continues to hold the firm belief that "conscience" is the reason for conservatism, the philosophy for the future. What could have inspired greater pride in a father than to have his son adopt that as his life's credo? William Albert Ashbrook would have been proud.

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Staats vs. Mitchell

Court Test Coming for 'Philadelphia Plan'?

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The Labor Department's campaign to employ more skilled Negroes on federally financed construction projects has provoked an embarrassing intra-government wrangle.

Congress may be asked to take a hand. In the meantime, however, the controversy could wind up in the federal courts.

At issue is the so-called "Philadelphia Plan" under which federal contractors are required to set goals for minority hiring so that their work force accurately reflects the availability of minority workmen in a given area. It is aimed at pushing more black workmen into the building trades.

The plan has been ruled illegal by Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats on grounds that it is, in essence, a quota system which amounts to racial discrimination in reverse. Such plans, he says, violate the 1964 civil rights law.

Staats' General Accounting Office rides herd on the spending of funds appropriated by Congress. His ruling suggests, therefore, that federally financed contractors cannot be required to establish the goals imposed by the Philadelphia Plan.

Comptroller General Staats ruled the "Philadelphia Plan" illegal on the grounds that it amounts to a quota system.

However, Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell has issued a 20-page opinion which upholds the legality of the plan. As originally developed, it applies to large federally assisted construction projects in the Philadelphia area.

Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz expects to adapt the plan to prevailing circumstances in other areas as soon as possible. His position, now supported by the attorney general, is that the plan does not set quotas but simply requires "good faith" attempts to meet hiring goals.

The GAO is the auditing arm of Congress. Mitchell's Justice Department is the law office of the governments' executive branch. The controversy is, therefore, one of legislative vs. executive all over again.

Contractor groups oppose the plan. Recently the convention of the AFL-CIO Construction and Building Trades Department applauded the statement of department President C. J. Haggerty that the building trades unions are 100 per cent opposed to quota systems, whatever they are called.

Skilled jobs, as plumbers, steamfitters, electricians and the like, are at the heart of the controversy. The unions representing such workers have long been criticized on grounds that they discriminate against minority groups, often through lily-white apprentice programs.

In Philadelphia the Labor Department contends that six skilled construction trades have minority employes amounting to 1 per cent, while minorities comprise about 30 per cent of the work force in the area's construction industry.

The plan may well be tested in the courts when a contractor declines to abide by the goal procedure. At least one Navy contractor in the Philadelphia area has indicated that he may act to force a court test.

With the Justice Department supporting the legality of the plan, some members of the House and Senate are urging that Congress act to support the GAO. One proposal has already been drafted which would bar the use of federal funds on projects which ignore the comptroller general's ruling on the Philadelphia Plan.

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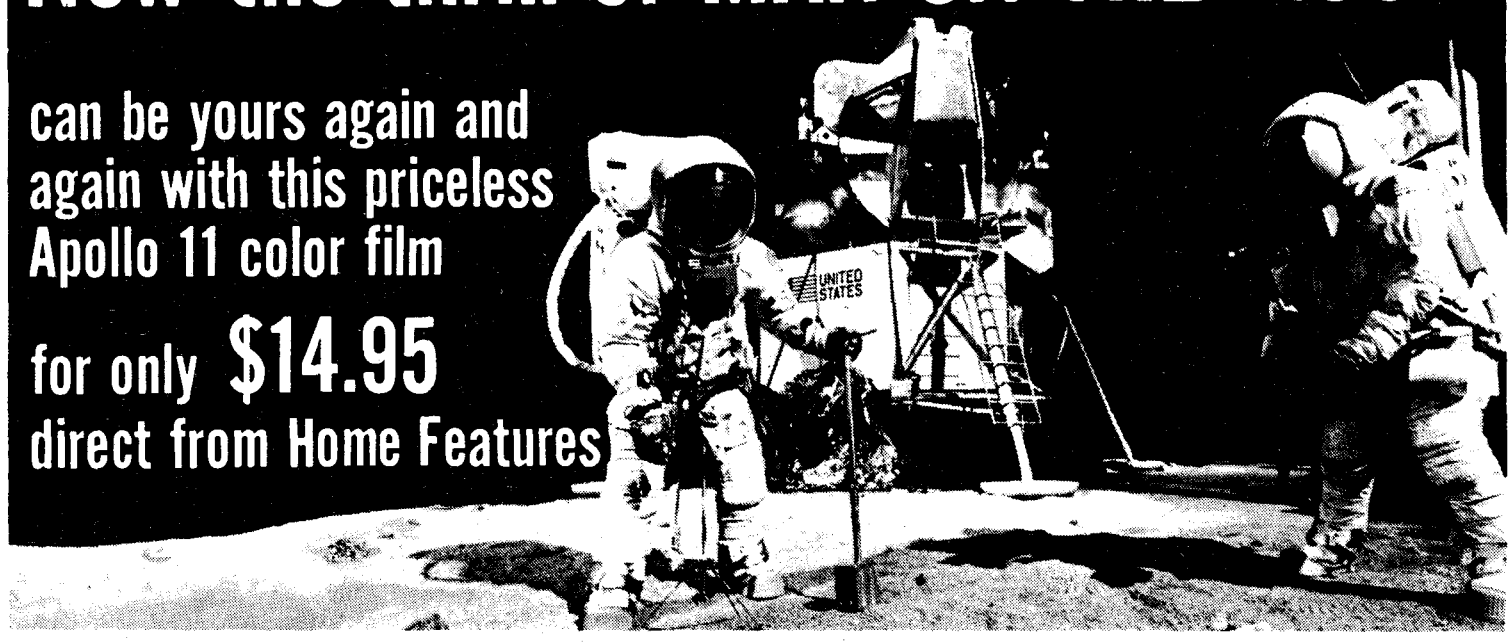

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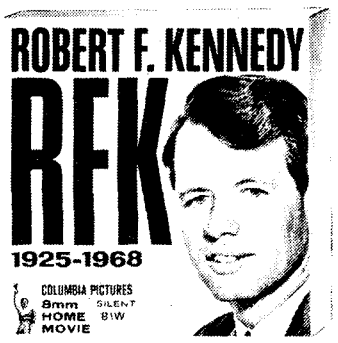

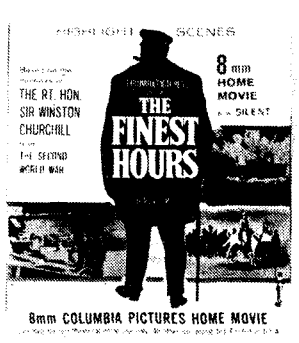

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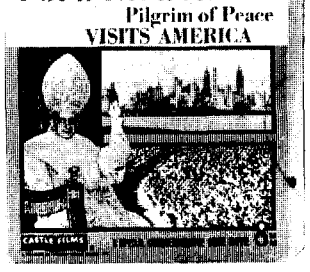

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The Superheated Plans of SDSer Mark Rudd

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

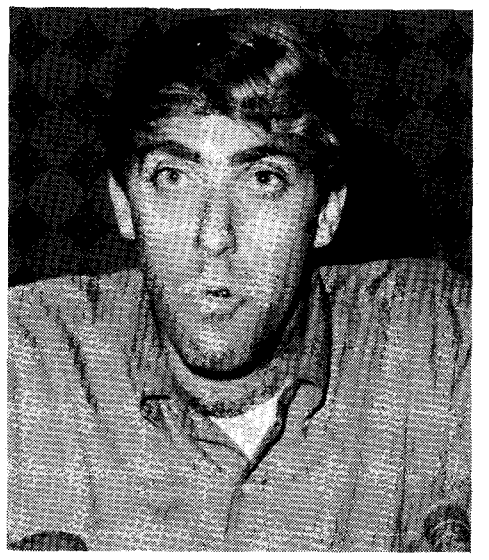
College presidents have returned to their respective campus offices, the more timorous of them in fear and trembling lest they hear the New Left knock on the door, and the bolder spirits among them loaded for the Students for Democratic Society bear (color the animal red). But the New Left, which is not without a sense of circumspection as well as of strategy, may not be gunning for Prexy this year. Indeed, all signs point to shifting the student struggles to the streets, beginning this week (the anniversary week of the guerrilla leader Che Guevara's death in Bolivia) with massive demonstrations outside a Chicago courtroom where eight New Leftists are being tried for allegedly conspiring to produce a riot during the 1968 Democratic convention.

The mastermind behind the new strategy is none other than Mark Rudd, who has parleyed his notoriety in staging the 1968 Columbia University shambles into a job as national secretary of the Chicago faction of the SDS. Mark, who betrays the Castroite Cuban touch in his salutation—"Venceremos! [We shall conquer] Yours in Struggle"—has issued his manifesto:

"On Oct. 11, 1969, SDS is calling tens of thousands of people to return to Chicago for a massive march against the war in Viet Nam, in support of the Black Liberation Struggle, and against the increasing political repression that has particularly menaced black and brown communities throughout the country.

"We intend to return to Chicago precisely because it has come to symbolize what a government held together by force is all about. And we intend to return with young people from the high schools, community colleges, and the streets, with workers from the factories and with GIs."

Mark has asked for $100,000 in cash contributions to bring the gang back to Daley-Town-on-the-Lake. Naturally, no one is seeing his books, but the objective evidence is that someone is paying his printers' bills. For example, literature calling for an October 8 memorial rally in Chicago for Che Guevara ("murdered by CIA pigs") has flooded the streets of Venice, Calif., 2,000 miles distant. Wherever there is an art festival, or a rock-and-roll ingathering, the SDS literature ("Bring the War Home!") gets passed out with the marijuana.



Mark Rudd, leader of last year's Columbia University disorders, plans new Chicago demonstrations.

Whether the SDS has the muscle to tear Mayor Richard Daley's community apart all over again will be known when we have the opportunity to measure its promises against performance. The October 8 march on behalf of Che Guevara's memory is supposed to be peaceful, the "pigs" willing. But the script for Thursday, the ninth, calls for action to "liberate the high schools, bust our brothers and sisters out of jail, so they can join us in the streets." On Friday, October 10, the SDS promises to "tear up the fascist courts." The climax is supposed to come on Saturday, the eleventh, with a march that will include a "show of force."

The New Left could be riding for a fall in all this. For the mood of the majority, especially perhaps in the big cities, is clearly against what one dissenting New Leftist has called "the worst sort of adventure."

Jeffrey St. John, author of the recent *Countdown to Chaos* who follows New Left journalism with a specialist's eye, calls the attention of this column to an article put out by the Liberation News Service that says, "SDS is organizing a defeat, which will unnecessarily add some more victims to the repression of the ruling class. . .the price will be paid by the movement. . .and discredit the movement as a whole. . . ."

Distaste for New Left violence has already helped elect "law and order" mayors in Los Angeles, Minneapolis and elsewhere; an SDS-created shambles in Chicago could help complete the sweep by adding to the boomerang action against the liberal incumbent, Mayor John Lindsay, in New York.

A fiasco in Chicago will also have its depressing effect on the plans now being set up by Sam Brown of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard, and Prof. Noam Chomsky of MIT, for a student boycott of classes on October 15 to protest continuation of the Vietnamese war even on a diminishing scale.

New disorders are scheduled to begin this week to coincide with the anniversary of the death of Che Guevara.

The Nixon moratorium on the draft is bound to limit the effectiveness of the Brown-Galbraith movement anyway, for anyone can see with half an eye that the days of the draft are numbered. The cue for the sensible college administrator is to let boycotters take October 15 off; loss of a day's education, which they are paying for, will hurt nobody but themselves.

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Television: A Warped Mirror

By PAUL HARVEY

Television has been called your "window on the world." Instead, it's a warped fun-house mirror magnifying Manhattan Island.

If it sounds ungrateful for me to criticize my own industry, who can—if not an insider who knows something about it?

The industry's imbalance results from the same centralization which for years had distorted other publishing, press and information facilities. The networks, headquartered in New York City, have exported Tammany Hall politics, Broadway burlesque and the lopsided influence of Manhattan's minorities to the rest of New York state and to 49 other states hour after hour for years on end.

Major news wire services, less centralized, are more responsive to Main Street America. New York-based networks, however, conspicuously list to the political portside.

This is not personal sour grapes. Paul Harvey News presently comprises 126 television stations, 300 newspapers and 462 radio stations. I'm told this is the largest network in the world. These outlets are supported by individual newspapers and station managers and sponsors desirous of perpetuating same semblance of editorial balance.

It is thanks to them that Paul Harvey still has a foot in the door. But I don't want him to be the end of the line.

Even now, against the daily avalanche of news seen through the eyes of mostly liberal New Yorkers, my three-minutes-a-day editorial can hardly be considered "equal time."

The tail has been wagging the communications dog for so long that reverting to some degree of editorial equanimity will be neither quick nor easy—but it has to begin with you.

When the conservative versus liberal positions are put to a vote in the United States the difference is always less than 10 per cent.

I suggest that you keep a notepad beside your TV set and keep score. You decide if the conservative versus liberal positions are similarly balanced in the newscasts, panel programs and documentaries which you see.

If, as happens frequently, a program presumes to "balance" a liberal Democrat with a liberal Republican, don't be confused; that's not balance, it's subterfuge.

If the camera catches a conservative spokesman in his least-flattering pose and the microphone quotes his weakest utterance, then shifts to the militant oratory of some photogenic spokesman for the fascist left, it will be more difficult to detect the imbalance—but I trust you.

Understand, the decision of who and what may be "newsworthy" generally rests with the boys in the back room whom you never see. Few of us write our own stuff any more. I do. Your quarrel is not with individuals, but with a potentially sinister system.

And when you get overdosed with a cover-up for a culprit or a buildup for a demagogue, *you* petition the FCC for "equal time."

You may not get it, but you'll be doing a favor to many responsible grassroots radio and TV station managers who may be as fed-up as you are with being force-fed Manhattan Island's prejudices.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Welfare Case

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, recently announced that a just-completed study of families on relief in New York City revealed unauthorized welfare payments to families there was $66 million—half of which was paid with federal funds. It is assumed similar abuses are occurring in other cities.

Out in Colorado Springs Welfare Commissioner Jack Mitchell, after an investigation, cited the case of one "underprivileged" woman with five children getting a welfare grant of $148 a month plus $48 for child care. She worked at retail sales for $1.75 an hour, with a monthly pay of $303. With five children her deductions took care of taxes.

It was learned the lady was also eligible for food stamps, legal aid, medical aid, etc. In addition, under Section 235 of the housing law she was buying a $17,000 home, with monthly payments of $166. Of that amount Uncle Sam pays 77 per cent, and some $69 of the payment is made by the welfare department.

That leaves the woman paying only $27 a month on a $17,000 home!

In addition to all benefits this woman can receive there's a tax-free income of $568 a month, or $8,500 a year—not counting free school lunches.

When this is declared as "legal," there's no wonder the $5,000-a-year man becomes incensed when he is hard-pressed to buy even a modest home for the family.

Tide is Turning

By REP. WILLIAM A. STEIGER (R.-Wis.)

The government in Washington is awakening to the fact that it is the people at home who have to rebuild the cities, restore order to the streets, seek reconciliation between the races and oversee the education of our children. After more than 30 years of power and responsibility flowing towards the federal government, we can see today that the tide is beginning to run the other way. Back to the state and county and town and city and village and back to the private citizen organizations like the Red Cross. . . .If our cities are in fact to be rebuilt, our water purified, our children educated, the single greatest engine of progress is voluntary action. . . private citizens coming together to get a job done.

Canadians Learn a Lesson

By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-Fla.)

The Canadians are learning the hard way, just as the United States has, that you just cannot trust Russia's word even if you have a signed contract. . . .

In 1966 it appeared that Canada was about to have a good thing. Russia negotiated a contract to buy 336 million bushels of wheat over a three-year period. With a market assured for about one-sixth of its annual production, Canada planted wheat and more wheat. Favorable weather added to the situation and the resultant bumper crops looked like money in the bank.

But it has not worked out that way. The same weather that blessed Canada also aided the Russians and they too had bumper crops, enough to feed their people. In addition, the Russians found themselves caught in a currency squeeze.

So they simply reneged on their contract with Canada. When the contract expired recently, the Canadians found that Russia had accepted delivery of only 58 per cent of the wheat she had ordered and the Canadians were left with a huge surplus for which there was no ready market.

The Canadians also found, as so many other nations have, that their protests went unheeded. Their requests for talks, for negotiations, even for an explanation, were blandly ignored.

So Canada is learning the hard way that their wheat contract, like every other agreement with the Kremlin, is only good so long as the Russian leaders are benefiting. Meanwhile Canada stands to lose several hundred million dollars—and thus the lesson learned is going to be quite costly.

Costly Food Stamp Bill

By SEN. SPESSARD HOLLAND (D.-Fla.)

I regret to report that the Senate has approved a food stamp bill in what I consider to be an exhorbitant amount and with many features which I cannot approve. [*See* Human Events *last week, page 5.*] *A substitute bill offered by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and others and containing many loose and ultra-liberal features replaced our committee bill by a vote of 54 to 40. As passed, the bill provides $5.75 billion in food stamp funds for the next three years. This sum is $2 billion more than either the committee recommended, the Administration sought, or the Department of Agriculture testified it can use during the period covered. Among many other bad features, it permits persons to become eligible by merely filing an affidavit and allows the federal government to override state and local governments by establishing programs operated solely by the federal government or by non-profit associations.*

1980's Census Questions

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)

The 1980 census will include only questions approved by congressional committees if legislation passed by the House of Representatives two weeks ago becomes law. The bill requires the director of the census to submit to the House and Senate Committees on Post Office and Civil Service three years before the decennial census all questions to be asked. Within one year the committees are to notify the Census Bureau of their approval, rejection, or revision of the questions.

The congressional committees want to make certain that the statistical needs of all units of government are met and that the facts and figures needed by the private sector are obtained. But the committees also want to be sure that no questions will be asked of individuals which trespass on their rights of privacy. There has been considerable concern about the original 1970 questionnaire which now has been revised to eliminate some of the more objectionable features. . . .

The bill eliminates the jail sentence for those who refuse to answer the questions or give false information. However, fines can still be imposed. For any employe of the Census Bureau who divulges confidential information the bill increases the fine from $1,000 to $5,000 and the jail sentence from two to five years.

Some Comparisons

By REP. THOMAS KLEPPE (R.-N.D.)

In 1949 a married couple with two children and a $5,000 income paid $344 in federal income and Social Security taxes, leaving them with $4,656 to spend or invest. To have the same purchasing power in 1969, this couple would need an income of $8,100 before taxes. Inflation has clipped them for $2,306 and higher taxes for an additional $794, wiping out completely the $3,100 income increase from $5,000 to $8,100. Their Social Security tax alone has jumped from $30 in 1949 to $374.40 in 1969. I think these figures explain why Americans are protesting against skyrocketing prices and increasing taxes.

How to Write Your Representatives

By REP. WILLIAM L. SCOTT (R.-Va.)

You may have heard the story of the man who was complaining loudly in a restaurant about affairs in Washington. "If you don't like the situation," a man at the next table suggested, "Why don't you write your congressman?"

"I can't," was the reply. "I *am* the congressman."

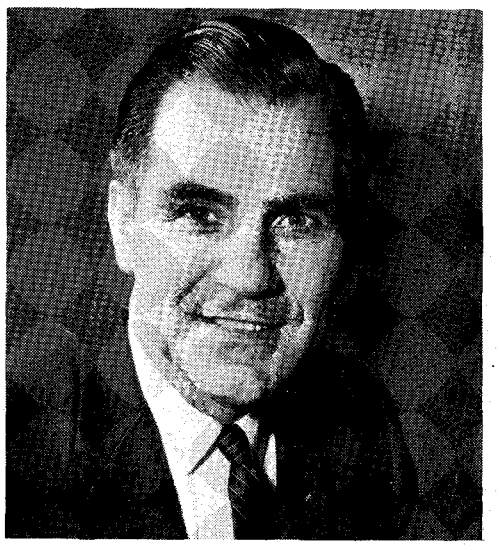
The story underlines the frustration of many Americans who are not always satisfied with the way things are run in the capital city. "I'm going to write my congressman about this situation" is a phrase heard daily in every city and town.

Many people have the mistaken notion that it will do them no good. They feel the country is too big, the government too complex, the congressman too busy, or their own views and problems too unimportant.

Quite the opposite is true. In our own Washington office, we receive thousands of letters from citizens with every imaginable kind of problem. Some are seeking jobs. Veterans need assistance. Retired persons need a solution to Social Security problems. Many are concerned with the draft or military affairs. Others simply want to express their opinions or "get it off their chest." A congressional office may be the only remaining place a person can turn to when he has a problem with the government.

Most congressmen answer the mail promptly and assign a staff member to work on the individual case. Our staff is composed of well-educated and experienced persons who are often able to plow through the federal government maze and get results. We don't always succeed, but we do try.

The Founding Fathers created a House of Representatives accountable to their constitutents every two years. Our primary responsibility is in the legislative field, but as your elected representatives in Washington we do spend a considerable portion of time working on individual problems. It is quite a task when you consider that my district consists of over 600,000 persons and that a large segment corresponds with us at least once in the course of two years.



Rep. Scott gives several pointers on how to write effective letters to elected officials.

Try, before writing your congressman, to realize what he can and cannot do. We can't fix a parking ticket, adjust a light bill, or fire the garbage collector. Perhaps the following suggestions will be useful to you when you write your city councilman, district supervisor, state legislator, or any government official, including your congressman:

1. Make your letter brief, but thorough. Tell us everthing we need to know, but try to avoid rambling. Time saved can be used to work on your case.

2. Confine your comments to one subject for each letter. By doing this you attach more importance to the given subject, and it obviously helps us when we assign it to a staff member or when we refer it to a government agency.

3. If you are urging a position on specific legislation, give your reasons for being for or against the bill. If the bill is important to you, then you may have studied it more than your representative. Your comments may very well be the deciding factor when he finally makes up his mind how to vote. It is not enough to just be for or against a numbered bill, because often the bill is amended and changed in committee or on the floor.

4. Write your own letter. You do not need to hire a professional writer to convey your views. If you can't type, write it in your own hand and don't worry about spelling or grammar. Don't copy another letter on the subject. Form letters are not as meaningful as one you have thought out.

5. Don't promise and don't threaten. Public officials are human, too. They don't like to think they can be "bought," and they don't like to think they can be scared. Diplomacy always is better than bribery or force.

6. Don't give up on your representative because he fails to always support your views. Although we are servants of the people, we also try to be leaders. It would be impossible for one man to agree with more than 600,000 people on every issue. But this doesn't mean we can't try to understand each other. Keeping in touch leads to agreement more frequently.

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He wasn't the first Ass we have elected President.

Just the first with four legs.

This is a story about a real Ass.

It may not surprise you to learn that he could talk, because you probably know some Asses who talk all the time. But our story is about the kind of Ass you find on the farm, with four legs not two, and you've never heard one of them talk before.

Come along to Farmer Jones' place and meet our hero. His name is Stubby, because his ears are so long that's how the rest of him looks.

Stubby learned that he could talk while he was still a colt. But he didn't say anything about it right away. First he wanted to see what people were like, and it didn't take him long to realize that the way we run our affairs is, well, positively huminine!

You see, Stubby could think as well as talk. He was a smart Ass. Naturally he resented the way people call other people Asses if they are stupid or thickheaded, so he decided to prove to everyone just how intelligent real Asses are.

(If he also succeeds in proving how asinine some people really are, there's nothing we can do about it. — *Ed.*)

One fine day Stubby told Farmer Jones he didn't want to pull carts for a living. Farmer Jones was startled, but he saw at once that Stubby could make him rich. Word got around fast, and folks came for miles — and paid Farmer Jones — for a chance to talk to a real Ass.

At first they came for the novelty of it. But soon they came for *advice*, because what Stubby said made sense. By heeding Stubby's suggestion to charge tolls, for instance, the State was able to fix up all the roads without collecting a penny of taxes, and everybody liked *that*.

Stubby soon had his own airplane (the Assteroid I) to get around to his speaking engagements, and a girl (whom he called his Assassistant) to turn the pages for him while he read.

In all this activity, Stubby was following a plan which he revealed to no one. It was all according to plan when he signed a contract to appear on several big television programs.

First there was *Beat the Press* (you know, the one where reporters ask the guest loaded questions to show how much smarter they are than he). Stubby handled the questions so well that, for all we know, the reporters felt like Asses. For instance, Stubby was challenged to solve the farm problem. His solution *worked*.

On the next show, *Faze the Nation*, the reporters were not so uppity. In fact, when Stubby explained how to do away with inflation, they were almost awed.

By now the papers were calling him Statesman instead of Stubby. The people were very pleased with all the taxes he was saving them. They started write-in campaigns for him in all the Presidential primaries, which he won.

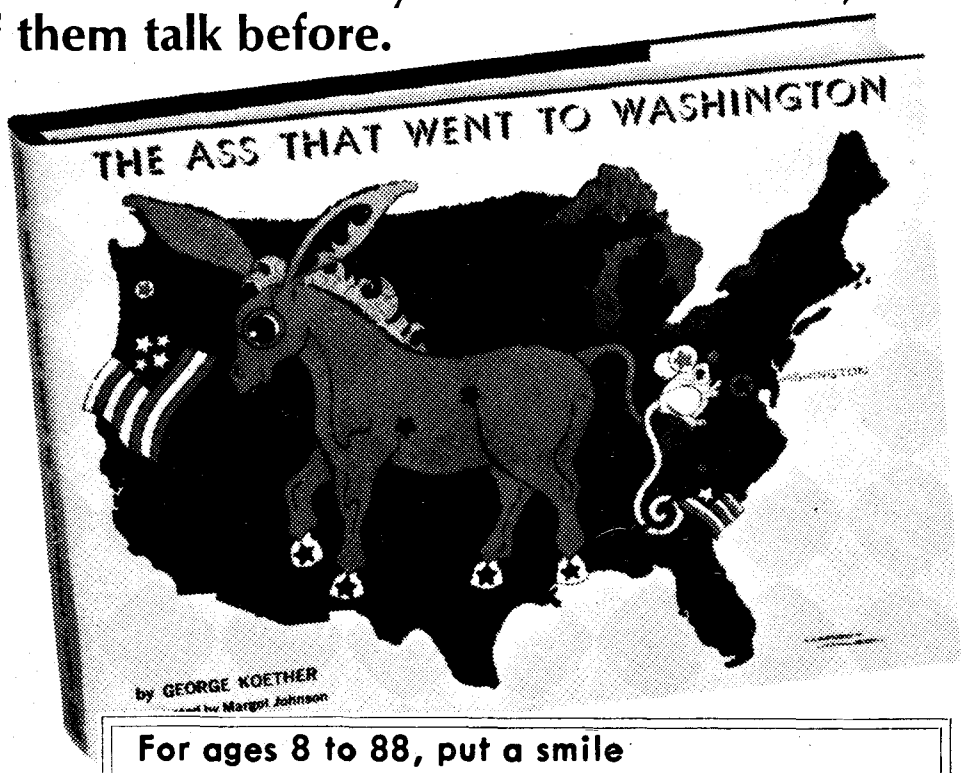
The Democrats asked him to head their ticket because, after all, the Ass was already the symbol of their party.

The Republicans asked him to head their ticket because, after all, Statesman was a smart Ass and wouldn't feel at home with the other kind in the other party.

Statesman accepted the nomination of both parties, but only on the understanding that they were accepting his ideas and not vice versa.

So it happened that for the first time, an Ass with four legs became President of the United States. A decided improvement, we think you'll find.

For instance, Statesman's Inaugural Address, far from echoing the windy rhetoric of the past ("Assk not what your country can do you you; Assk what you can do for your country."), consisted of only four sentences.



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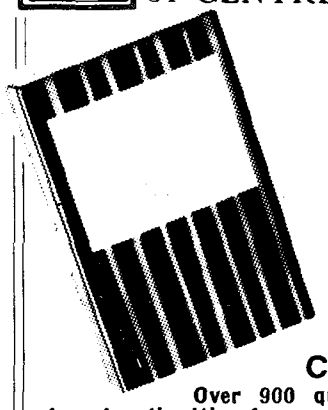

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